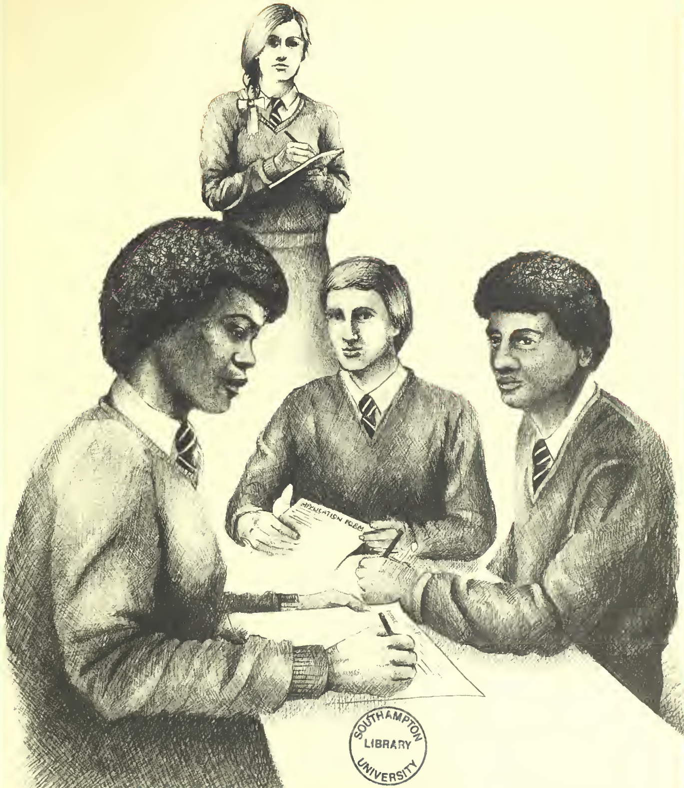
OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS
SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

The West Indian school leaver

A survey conducted on behalf of the Department of Employment



Volume 1 Starting work

Ken Sillitoe and
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Acknowledgements

Most reports of this kind contain a note of acknowledgement to the people who have helped make it possible. It would be pointless to list all those in the Social Survey Division of OPCS who have been involved in the fieldwork and processing of this survey. It lasted so long that most of our personnel were employed on it at some time. However, two people must be mentioned: Lorraine Polley, whose experience and expertise was of inestimable value in supervising all the primary analysis of the data, from the survey's initial pilot stages, through to the final interview; and Dave Harrison, who in addition to contributing to most aspects of the work from its early stages, was exclusively responsible for maintaining meticulous records of all our informants, without which it would have been impossible to have kept track of their changes of addresses and ensured that the 'matched pairs' were constantly up-dated. In addition, we wish to thank Mr H Heginbotham, Chief Careers Adviser, Birmingham Youth Employment Service, for permission to use (an adapted form of) his system of matching school leavers to jobs, through basic educational entry requirements, which he had devised and tested for many years in his own work. He will no doubt be amused by our having, in acknowledgement, given his name to the 'Heg Scale'.

As to the teachers, Careers Officers, parents and, in particular, the school leavers themselves, we can only express our admiration and gratitude for their good nature, in tolerating our incessant pursuit for information for more than seven years. We can only hope that the results of our combined efforts justify the time and patience they expended. If any disagree with what we have written, we trust they will at least find it of value in stimulating open, constructive discussion of the many issues involved. We hope none will be offended. Finally, we should add that although this study was carried out on behalf of the Department of Employment, the interpretation of the findings and any opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily represent the views of the department.

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Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number and therefore do not always add to exactly 100.

.. denotes not applicable.

0 denotes 0.5% or less.

— denotes no cases.

1 Introduction

Origin and purpose

This study was first mooted in 1969, when the Department of Employment asked the Government Social Survey department (now the Social Survey Division of OPCS) to conduct a long-term survey of the employment experiences of school-leavers born in Britain of West Indian, African and Asian parentage. Interest in this topic had been stimulated by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Immigration, which drew attention to the difficulties being experienced by young West Indians[1]. Investigation of Department of Education statistics and other enquiries suggested, however, that at that time it was not feasible to obtain sufficiently large samples of children born in this country of Asian and African descent, who were old enough to be leaving school to start work; whereas it was just possible to obtain an adquate number who were of West Indian descent. The reason for this lay in the patterns of immigration of their respective communities. From the early 1950s, West Indians had started to come to Britain in fairly large numbers; whereas Asian immigration had not reached its peak until the early 1960s and, moreover, was characterised by a tendency for male heads of households to come alone to Britain first – to be followed by their dependents later[2,3]. In consequence, we found the first waves of UK-born West Indians were just beginning to reach school-leaving age, but most Asian pupils who had been born in Britain were still at the primary stage of their education. The numbers of African school leavers were also found to be inadequate for our purpose.

It was concluded, therefore, that if the study was to be started immediately it would have to be confined to West Indians. The possibility of delaying it until larger samples became available and Asians could also be included, was dismissed on the grounds that as the survey would take a long time to complete, it was desirable to begin at the earliest possible moment. The other alternative, of dropping the emphasis on the UK-born, was rejected because the Department of Employment was concerned to know whether the problems that many West Indians were reported to be encountering currently were peculiar to immigrants, or whether they were also affecting (and if so to what extent) persons of West Indian descent who had been born and reared in Britain. In any case, by the time the final results of the survey would be published most of the children of West Indian descent who would be leaving school then, would have been born here, or at least have had most of their education in Britain, so that if the results of the survey were to be a useful guide to what might be done to assist these future school leavers, it was essential we concentrate on youngsters of this type.

In addition to comparing the experiences of West Indians of varying lengths of residence in Britain, we needed to contrast them with white leavers. This had to be done in a manner that would ensure that any divergences in their experiences were not the result of differing levels of educational qualification and similar factors. To this end, it was agreed that, wherever possible, we should use 'matched' samples of West Indians and Whites, wherein each West Indian leaver would be related to a white child of the same sex, age and educational level, who was leaving school to start work at the same time.

The sample

As the aim was to include as many as possible of the West Indian leavers who had been born in Britain, enquiries were made about the feasibility of including leavers from Colleges of Further and Higher Education, but it transpired that administrative difficulties in distinguishing between overseas students and those whose parents were UK residents made this impracticable. The sample was confined, therefore, to those leaving from Secondary Schools.

The Department of Employment wished us to take area differences into account. Consequently, we had to restrict the survey to the areas from which we could obtain independently viable samples. This automatically led us to confine the study to the two principal areas of West Indian settlement – Greater London and Birmingham – which together accounted, at that time, for approximately three quarters of the West Indian population resident in Britain.

However, after we had collected fuller information from schools and discussed our proposals with local education authorities, further modifications to the research design had to be made. Firstly, the number of UK-born West Indian leavers we actually found proved to be even lower than the original estimates had led us to expect – especially in Birmingham. The Inner London Education Authority then pointed out that their recent research[4] showed that providing pupils had received all of their education in Britain, it made no difference to their educational attainment whether or not they had been actually born here. Accordingly, we expanded the definition of the prime target group to include all leavers of West Indian parentage who had lived in this country since before the age of five years,

regardless of where they were born. Additionally, it was agreed that we would draw our Birmingham samples from two annual cohorts of leavers (in 1971 and 1972), instead of restricting it to 1971, as in Greater London. By these means we ensured that we obtained adequate numbers for our samples, in both areas.

Next, we had to abandon our original wish to draw independent random samples of leavers who had come to Britain at later ages. The problem was that they were widely distributed throughout most of the classes in a large proportion of the schools. As the lack of records required us first to make an ethnic census of all the classes, and then to ask teachers to complete a questionnaire in respect of every pupil leaving in the Easter and Summer terms of the sample year, the administrative work load for the teaching staff and school secretaries was considerable. Certain of the local education authorities therefore insisted, understandably, that the number of classes and schools in the survey be restricted. Consequently, we decided to concentrate on the classes which contained pupils of school leaving age who had received all of their education in this country, and to draw our sub-samples of more recent immigrants from the same classes. This meant that the latter samples might not be academically representative; but it had the counter-balancing advantage that the overall educational level of the samples of all categories would probably be similar. (That this was in fact so, is illustrated in Chapter 3.) and that they would be matched in respect to their teachers, localities of residence, and the Careers Office personnel responsible for giving them advice and help in obtaining jobs. This would be a considerable aid to our subsequent analysis of the survey findings.

The final modification to our research design related to the matching of West Indian and white leavers. We endeavoured to take each pair of 'twinned' leavers from the same school class. When there was no white child leaving the class that term, with characteristics similar to those of the West Indian whom we were seeking to match, we first looked for an alternative match in another (sampled) class within the same school; in the last resort we took a white leaver from another school within the sample, in the catchment area served by the same Youth Employment Service Careers Office. In the event, however, we were unable to find suitable matches for the Later Migrants – that is, those who came to Britain after the age of eleven years. These children had tended to stay on at school to improve their education and often left with qualifications of a level more usually found amongst leavers of a younger age. For this reason we found, that in practice, we would frequently have been forced to match them to white children whose education had been retarded by emotional problems, disturbed family backgrounds or physical disabilities. This would clearly have distorted the comparisons we wished to make.

The West Indians were divided into three groups: Category 1 leavers who had received all their education in Britain; Category 2 who had come here between the ages of six and eleven years, and thus had received a full secondary but only a partial primary education in Britain; and Category 3 leavers who arrived in this country after the age of eleven years. Only the first two groups were matched to white leavers, and it is these that constitute our sample of 'Early Migrants' on which our most detailed analysis is based (see Chapter 2).

Fuller details of how we recruited our samples are given in the next chapter on methodology and in Appendix I which provides a full breakdown of all the leavers from our sampled classes. It is appropriate here, however, to discuss briefly the effects that the modifications to our original research design have on the way in which the results of this survey are to be interpreted. We were fortunate in that, to some extent, our being obliged to draw all the West Indian samples from the same classes mitigated the disadvantage of being unable to match all the leavers. As we noted above, in place of the individual matching of the Later Migrants to white leavers, we had achieved instead a broad matching of all categories of West Indian leaver, in respect to a variety of important characteristics. Given that the main purpose of our study was to compare the employment experiences of leavers who differed solely in respect to their ethnicity and length of residence in Britain, this modified design offered distinct advantages. But it also has important implications in relation to the representativeness of our samples and hence to the extent to which our findings can be regarded as applicable to all West Indian school leavers.

There is little hesitation about the representativeness of the leavers in Category 1. So far as co-operation from the schools allowed (see Appendix I), our 'sample' is virtually a *census* of the whole annual cohort of leavers in this group in Greater London and Birmingham in 1971; and in Birmingham in 1972. The extent of the representativeness of the other two categories, however, is unknown. Moreover, because from the outset we had aimed deliberately to concentrate on the West Indians who had received all of their education here, they constitute a much higher proportion of our sample population than of the general population at the time our samples were selected. In addition, of course, the sample of white leavers is in no way representative of all the indigenous leavers from the schools, or even from the classes, from which they were drawn. They were purposefully selected to produce a white 'carbon copy' of the West Indians to whom they were matched, and were not intended to be representative of white school leavers at large.

At the time of writing, the majority of West Indians leaving school to start work, have been in Britain for most of their lives and therefore, are well represented in our two categories of Early Migrants.

The relative representativeness of our individual sub-samples, however, is not a point of major concern in this study. Our main aim has *not* been to describe the

relative success in employment of all West Indians when they first left school, in contrast to the experiences of all white school leavers. Descriptive statistics of this kind have their value, but they would not have provided us with data appropriate to our objectives; which were to try to ascertain the extent to which West Indians were disadvantaged in employment because of discrimination and other ethnically related factors. To do this we needed to compare the experiences and behaviour of West Indian and white youngsters whose qualifications for employment were similar; regardless of whether West Indians generally left school with qualifications comparable to white leavers. Admittedly, this begs the question of where the process of disadvantage starts, but there are limits to how much can be encompassed in one survey, and there have been, already, numerous studies of the reasons for the underperformance of West Indian pupils in British schools.[5–7]. In addition, although it was not one of our original intentions to examine the educational system as such, in the course of collecting background information from teachers we found evidence of an ethnic bias in their assessments of their pupils' academic potentials. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

Our general method, the technical details of which are dealt with in the next chapter, has been to follow the early careers of samples of West Indian and indigenous white youngsters who were leaving school at the same time to start work, and who were also similar in respect to their sex, age, educational qualifications, locality of residence and the schools they attended. By so doing, we aimed to minimise variations in employment opportunity associated with sex, age, qualifications and differences between local labour markets. Also, because they attended the same schools, the influence of teachers, and of the Careers Officers (COs) who advised the leavers on their careers and helped them obtain jobs, were similar. By thus going as far as we could toward obtaining samples of West Indian and white school leavers whose qualifications and opportunities for employment were broadly the same, we would be enabled more easily to isolate the divergences in their subsequent careers which were attributable to ethnic differences in attitudes and behaviour, or to discriminatory treatment by employers.

Obviously, any matching process of this kind has to be fairly crude. It is impossible to eliminate the effects of all personal differences. Also, as is illustrated by our brief history of the travails experienced in mounting the survey, and the modifications to its design that practical considerations forced us to make, there can be many slips twixt the cup and lip of theory and practice in social survey research. In particular we should have liked to have interviewed our informants and to have given them various tests, before they left school, but after some initial experimentation it soon became apparent that this was unacceptable to local education authorities, because of the administrative disruption it would have entailed in so many schools and in such a high proportion of their classes. In addition, we would have preferred to include the leaver's father's occupational group (the indicator of 'social class' most generally used) as one of the matching factors. Here again practical considerations ruled it out because of the difficulty in obtaining reliable information on this topic before the samples were selected, and because it would have made the matching much more difficult. Not only would this addition have further complicated the matching process, it would have reduced the number of white leavers available for matching on sex, age and qualifications, because there are proportionately far fewer West Indian fathers in upper non-manual jobs. It is also questionable whether 'social class' narrowly defined in this manner, is as meaningful an indicator of family background for immigrants, as it is for the native population – especially given the restricted employment opportunities available to first generation adult immigrants.

Although we could not match our informants on the more subtle personal charactristics that may influence opportunites and behaviour in employment, we tried to collect as much information about these as was practicable, through their teachers, COs and parents, as well as directly through our interviews with the leavers themselves. This data has proved to be of value in helping us to interpret some of the variations in the leavers' behaviour, and in the ways they were regarded and treated by others – not least by the teachers and COs who gave some of the information.

Design

So much for the origins of the study and its purposes. There remains, however, one further aspect of the research design we need to discuss, which, whilst being less novel, is nonetheless a fairly rare feature of social surveys. This is its longitudinal construction.

The present volume of the report is concerned only with our informants' transition from school to work and their first six months on the labour market. Thus, it deals with the information collected from the leavers and their parents in the first interview, six months after the youngsters left school, and with the data we obtained from the teachers and COs. The second volume deals with the subsequent five years during which we carried out three further interviews, at intervals of fifteen months, eighteen months and two years, respectively. Thereby covering a period of over five years in all, from when our informants first left their schools.

We could, theoretically, have interviewed samples of young people five years after they left school and asked them to describe their qualifications when they finished full-time education; their ambitions at that time; their subsequent work histories; and their reasons for changing jobs. However, quite apart from the obvious problems this would present in tracking down samples of comparable groups of Whites and West Indians (of varying lengths of residence in the UK) in the general population, this method although far less expensive,

time consuming and administratively onerous, would have suffered from a number of serious drawbacks. Much of the data in this survey is about personal attitudes, and these are notoriously subject to distortion with the passage of time. More objective data, such as job descriptions and lengths of unemployment, are less liable to suffer from being collected retrospectively; but even here one cannot expect an informant to remember exactly how long he/she was out of work some years earlier, especially if, as was often the case, the person had experienced several spells of unemployment. In addition, the information we obtained from teachers and COs (which was essential to a full understanding of the leavers' backgrounds and experiences when first leaving school) had to be collected very soon after the event: it would not have been realistic to ask these people to try to remember the personal characteristics of our informants five years later, and also many would no doubt have subsequently moved to other posts and have been difficult to trace. It might be thought that these problems could have been surmounted by collecting the information we required from teachers and COs and then waiting for the necessary period before interviewing the young people themselves. Had we attempted to do this, however, it would have been necessary to make repeated contact with each leaver over the intervening period – when we could just as easily have interviewed them – in order to keep track of their changes of address. This procedure would have seemed strange to our informants, and would have been self-defeating to ourselves, in that we would be losing the opportunity to collect much more (and reliable) information at relatively little extra cost.

The only other alternative was to carry out just one interview shortly after these young people left school and not to follow their subsequent careers. However, this would not have enabled us to ascertain how our informants would eventually settle down in employment, nor whether their initial ambitions would ultimately be realised. In the second volume of this report we show that the fortunes of our informants later underwent a number of important changes, of which we would obviously have been unaware had we not followed them through the subsequent five years. These later developments illustrate that had the survey been limited to the initial period of transition from school to work, it would have furnished a very partial view of their relative success in employment.

However, whilst it is clear that the only effective way to assess the full effects of what happened to the school leavers when they first started work was to conduct a longitudinal survey, this solution has its own problems and disadvantages. In addition to the considerable demands on resources, it also suffers from fall-off in sample numbers during the course of fieldwork, through refusals to co-operate on further interviews and losing contact with informants who change address or leave the country, etc. There is also the problem of those who become ineligible for further interviews because of leaving the labour market permanently (or at least for the remaining period of the survey), as when some of our female informants married, had children and gave up full-time work; or when boys joined the Armed Forces. To ensure losses due to address changes were kept to a minimum, we had to keep in contact with all the leavers between interviews. The methods by which this was done are described in Volume 2 of the report (Appendix II) which covers the follow-up stages.

The attrition of the sample over the five years was a particular problem on this survey, not only because of the possible bias it could produce in our findings if those who were lost were atypical, but also because of the matching of informants. If one of a matched pair was lost, the other automatically became redundant, for the purposes of our analysis. The method by which the latter difficulty was overcome is described in detail in Volume 2 (Chapter 2) which deals with the period when the problem arose. It is sufficient to note here that our strategem was to carry a reserve of white leavers with a wide range of characteristics who were used for rematching to West Indians whose white matches had been lost subsequent to the previous interview.

Bias

The effects of the cumulative losses from the samples over the whole period of the survey are analysed and discussed fully in Volume 2, (Appendix II). Most were attributable to informants becoming ineligible because of withdrawing from the labour market (for the reasons given above), or to our losing contact with them, due to frequent address changing. Refusals were especially low, at all stages, and – contrary to what might have been expected – particularly so amongst the West Indian informants who were interviewed by Whites. Full details of response rates for the first interview are contained in Appendix II; those for the subsequent interviews will be found in Volume 2 (Appendix II).

One other possible source of bias needs also to be mentioned: the influence that repeated interviewing about their employment experiences and ambitions may have had on the behaviour of our informants. This is not a danger affecting the data contained in the present volume, as it was collected from our informants on the first occasion we saw them, but it is conceivable that their future behaviour and attitudes could have been affected by their repeated discussions with us. This is a hazard which besets all longitudinal studies, but in this instance we are safe-guarded by the fact that we are primarily concerned with the differences between our matched groups of informants, all of whom will have been similarly subject to whatever influence the repeated interviewing may have had on their behaviour.

Definitions

We need also to discuss the nomenclature adopted in this report, and to explain the concept of 'ethnicity' as it is employed here.

It is a particular characteristic of relations between ethnic or 'racial' groups, and of the studies made of

them, that there is a tendency to be ultra-sensitive about the terms used to describe them. This is because of the historical or ideological associations of words like 'negro', 'coloured' or 'black'. The last term for instance, is currently often preferred in Britain by the politically conscious and others who wish to stress what they believe to be the prime reason for the prejudice often shown toward non-Europeans, and who by using this expression to describe all non-whites wish thereby to ascribe to them a common identity and unity of interest, *vis-a-vis* 'White Society'. Other terms like 'Chinese', 'Arab', 'Asian' or 'West Indian', whilst tending to have fewer ideological associations, also have their pitfalls, in that they may be construed as intending to emphasise the alien origins of the groups concerned, or to imply adherence to pseudo-scientific theories of 'racial' differences. In practice, there are no terms that can be said to be completely value-free. In the following report, therefore, we have chosen, pragmatically, simply to use the names that were the most convenient, in common usage and which in our judgement are the least ambiguous. Thus, informants who were born in the West Indies are described here (in terms of their origins) as 'West Indians'. Less justifiably, those who were born in Britain of 'West Indian' parents are also described similarly. This is because, as we noted earlier, they are included in the group of leavers who had received all of their primary and secondary education in Britain, together with those who came to Britain as infants. For the purposes of this study, therefore, they are indistinguishable.

We have chosen to describe the school leavers of United Kingdom descent, to whom our West Indians are matched, as 'Whites', because to have labelled them also in terms of their origins (such as 'English', 'Welsh', 'Scottish' or 'Northern Irish', or 'United Kingdom descended') besides being most cumbersome, might also have implied that their 'West Indian' counterparts had less claim to United Kingdom citizenship. We could have avoided this problem by calling the UK-descended leavers 'natives'; but although this would be correct usage it might appear a little quaint to some readers.

It may be wondered, as we have chosen to use the term 'White', why the opposite 'Black', was not employed, instead of 'West Indian'. The reasons are twofold. The term 'Black' is ambiguous in that it is sometimes used to describe persons of African or Afro-Caribbean descent only, and sometimes, as we noted earlier, as a synonym for 'coloured' or 'non-white' – thereby including Asians. However, many Asians object to this latter usage and some of our 'West Indian' informants were, of course, Indo-Caribbeans. Secondly, we did not wish to use an expression that might be taken to imply that our findings are general to all 'Blacks', however defined. We are concerned here specifically with school leavers who are of West Indian descent – not with those whose parents came directly from the Indian subcontinent or Africa. Obviously, some of our findings may apply equally, or to a degree, to other 'non-white' school leavers. However, as the following pages will make clear, we are not concerned solely with the effects of 'colour prejudice' on our informants' employment prospects. Some of the divergences in the way that the white and West Indian leavers were treated were clearly not directly attributable to prejudices associated with variations in skin colour, but are probably best described as 'cultural' or 'ethnic'.

This brings us to the use of the term 'ethnic' in this report. In Britain, in recent years, this term has tended increasingly to supplant 'racial', to describe differences between the indigenous white population and resident minorities of other origins. To our minds this is a trend to be encouraged in that it avoids unintended associations with alleged differences believed in some quarters to be genetically determined, or with earlier pseudo-scientific systems of 'racial' classification based on superficial physical variations[8,9].

The term 'ethnic' is used in this report to describe divergences in behaviour or attitude that appear to characterise the groups concerned, but divorced from any presumptions as to their causes; and also to describe the nature of the groups themselves. When we write here of 'ethnic' differences, therefore, we are merely referring to behavioural or attitudinal traits which distinguish one group from the other. Obviously, some variations between the groups are simply a reflection of their divergent circumstances, as when differences in the employment experiences of the Whites and West Indians are shown to account for some of the variation in their attitudes toward the labour market. In such cases, we have an 'ethnic' difference (in terms of the definition as given above) to which nevertheless we can attribute a cause. Where, however, we are unable to offer any obvious explanation for such variations in attitudes and behaviour, we mean to infer when referring to such differences as 'ethnic', nothing more than that they appear to characterise the groups concerned. It is not our concern to explore how all the differences have come about; we must perforce confine ourselves to the data at our disposal and where that does not furnish us with explanations we have preferred not to make unsupported inferences.

It is for similar reasons that we have generally eschewed the use of the terms 'racism' or 'racist' when discussing the nature of the bias that appeared frequently to characterise the behaviour of Whites when dealing with our West Indian informants. This is not to say that the bias apparent in the manner in which West Indians were often treated was unaffected by conscious or unconscious 'colour' or 'race' prejudice on the part of the Whites concerned. The data at our disposal does not enable us to assess whether, or to what degree, this was the case. What we have been able to demonstrate is that the bias displayed in the assessments of the capabilities of young West Indians varied considerably, depending on their degree of acculturation and level of education. This clearly shows that to ascribe the bias solely to 'colour/race' prejudice would

be misleading. We have preferred, therefore, to use the expression 'ethnocentric bias', by which we mean a propensity to perceive and to treat persons of a different ethnic group in terms of the preconceptions and norms of one's own culture. If there is a widespread tendency amongst Whites in Britain to have derogatory or hostile attitudes toward people who have different physical characteristics to themselves, then this may be said to be one expression of the ethnocentrism of British Whites. The merit of using the concept 'ethnocentrism' is that it avoids the danger (implicit in the use of terms such as 'racism') of appearing to prejudge the reasons for the bias in the manner in which West Indians are often treated. By describing biased attitudes and behaviour as 'ethnocentric' one allows for the possibility that several factors may be involved. Also, ethnic groups (unlike 'races') are not permanent; their boundaries and characteristics are susceptible to change over time, in response to shifts in their socio-economic circumstances[10,11]. Hence, by moving away from the pseudo distinctions of 'race' to the more refined concept of 'ethnic' differences, we also emphasise that we are dealing with a fluid situation that may be affected by a multiplicity of influences and most importantly, one that is therefore amenable to reform, if we are so minded.

Presentation of results

Turning now to the manner in which we have presented our findings, it will be found that after Chapter 2 which deals with the survey methodology, the chapter order is largely chronological. Part 1, which embraces Chapters 3 and 4, deals with the leavers' general background, including their education, personal assessments by teachers and Careers Officers, and the leavers' and their parents' general attitudes to employment. In Part 2 (Chapters 5 and 6) we describe our informants' ambitions, the Careers Officers' ratings of their suitability, and the relative importance of different sources of careers guidance. Included in this section is a detailed account of the role of the Careers Service.

Part 3 then examines (in Chapters 7 to 9) the means by which people first found employment, the nature of the jobs they obtained, how successful people were in getting the type of work they wanted, and how satisfied the leavers (and their parents) were with the jobs they secured. Next, in Chapter 10, we look at the degree and the manner in which the leavers modified their aspirations, once they had actually begun employment. Then, in Chapter 11, we review the courses of part-time further education on which the leavers had embarked when leaving school. Finally, in Chapter 12, we have summarised all our findings, from throughout this first volume of the report, that relate to discrimination, and compare our conclusions with our informants' own beliefs about the amount of discrimination they had personally experienced.

At the end of each chapter, in both volumes of the report, we have usually added a summary of our principal findings therein. A résumé of all our main findings over the full period of the survey, together with our recommendations, will be found in Volume 2, Chapter 13. Although the authors are not qualified to prescribe, in detail, what should be done to try to modify the situation, we have seen it as an integral part of our task to indicate the points at which, in our estimation, discriminatory treatment and ethnic differences in attitudes and behaviour had the most telling effect on the leavers' transition from school to work. Some of the problems are clearly amenable to remedial action, others may be less so.

At the end of this volume there are a number of appendices containing details of how the samples were composed; response rates at the first interview; how the composite variables and indices were constructed; the principle documents used in data collection and primary analysis; and the effects of using both West Indian and white interviewers. The details of these matters have been put at the end for convenient reference, and to avoid cluttering the discussion in the main body of the report. Whenever they are pertinent to the main discussion we have inserted cross-references. Appendix IV which is concerned with 'ethnicity-of-interviewer effects' also gives a brief account of the experimentation which led to our decision that it was needful to employ West Indian interviewers to carry out some of the interviews.

Finally, we should like to explain, and to apologise for, the delay in publishing our findings. It will be appreciated that a survey of this kind, with matched samples and interlocking interviews, whilst offering scope for exploring the subject matter in more ways and in greater depth than is usual, requires analytical techniques that can be at times complicated, and most time-consuming. One of the incidental consequences of this being that it ties up research personnel for lengthy periods and the completion of the work may be postponed by staff being diverted by other commitments. For this reason, though the final interviews were completed by the end of 1977, the final analysis of our data had to be delayed for more than three years. This time was not altogether lost because in the meantime it was possible intermittently to get much of the preparatory work completed, including some supplementary coding operations relating together the information provided by the leavers and their Career Officers (see Supplementary Coding Schedule No. 1, Appendix V, and No. 2 in Volume 2, Appendix IV). We had also been able during the course of the fieldwork, to produce (unpublished) preliminary reports after each round of interviews, which gave the Department of Employment a superficial preview of our findings. Nevertheless, the delay in completing this final report is regrettable, especially as labour market conditions have changed radically in recent years. Fortunately, however, the design of the survey and its analysis impart to our findings a continuing relevance that is impervious to short-term changes in the labour market. The particular value of this study is in its attempt to increase understanding of the factors which place the young worker of West

Indian descent at a persistent disadvantage in the labour market. The impediments to equality of opportunity from which our West Indian informants suffered when first leaving school, were at a time when (particularly in London) the general level of unemployment was relatively low (see Volume 2, Chapter 5, Figure 5.1). Yet, as we shall demonstrate, even at that time West Indians were seriously disadvantaged. This was especially the case in Birmingham where the unemployment rate was higher and in consequence job competition was more acute. During the subsequent five years in both areas there was a marked increase in unemployment – although not to the disturbing levels of today. This gave us a further opportunity to examine (in Volume 2) the effects that increased job competition had on the incidence of discriminatory recruiting practices. As we show, there can be little doubt, judging from the sharp rise in West Indian unemployment and from our informants' own impressions about the general prevalence of discrimination, that in times of economic recession West Indians find themselves to be at an even greater disadvantage. (This is also borne out by the findings of the third PSI Survey[12,13].) Thus, the problems that our West Indian informants faced as a consequence of the factors described in this report, almost certainly have an equal, if not greater significance in relation to their current employment prospects, than was the case when this study began.

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2 Methods used

The purpose of this chapter is to provide, in conjunction with the appendices, a more detailed/technical account of certain special features of the survey that were dealt with only cursorily in the introduction. We shall confine ourselves, largely, to a discussion of the methods employed in the collection and analysis of the data contained in this first volume of the report. That is, the information obtained at the first interview with the leavers, and from their parents, Careers Officers and school teachers.

The follow-up stages required us to devise ways of incorporating the further dimension of *time* into our analysis – in order to summarise the changes that occurred in our informants' experiences and behaviour over the full five years of the survey. The methods we have used to do this are discussed in the second part of our report, as they have little relevance at this stage (see Volume 2, Chapter 2). However, it is necessary now to give an outline of the overall plan of the survey, as this will assist the reader to see why particular topics were or were not covered in our initial interview with the leaver and how all the leaver's interviews, and those with the parent and Careers Officer, inter-lock.

Planning of interview stages

At every interview with the leaver we collected the basic information necessary to provide an historical account of the leaver's jobs, unemployment, job satisfaction, reasons for changing jobs, methods of finding new ones, vocational training, pay and further education.

The questions on these topics were standardised for all interviews, to ensure comparability. We needed, however, to place a limit on the number of questions to be repeated in exactly the same form at each interview, to avoid boring the informant. Consequently some less essential topics were covered only once, at the time thought most appropriate; and those that were considered likely to change over time (or where it was important to establish that no change had taken place) were dealt with in more than one interview, but not in *consecutive* interviews. An example of the deployment of this latter strategy is found in the questions about the ethnic composition of the workforce, which were asked at both the second and fourth interviews. This produced evidence of an interesting change over time – toward an increasing concentration of our West Indian informants into a limited range of places of employment.

Analogous methods were adopted when we needed to ask similar questions of both parent and child. Their interviews sometimes took place on different days (providing opportunities for them to discuss what had been said) and occasionally the parents insisted on being present during the interviews with their children. Therefore, to avoid cross-contamination in their answers to attitudinal questions, we tried whenever it was feasible, to delay putting these questions to the leaver until a later stage in the survey. Thus, the questions asked of the parent about general attitudes to work and to vocational training, were not put to the child until the third interview – nearly three years later. This had the advantage that we thereby obtained a more experienced and mature response from the leaver, as well as ensuring that the child's answers were less likely to be influenced by the parent's views. However, when asking about contemporaneous events (as with attitudes towards the leaver's present job) the questions had obviously to be asked on the same occasion.

The danger of cross-contamination of answers naturally did not arise with the data on related topics collected from the leaver and the Careers Officer (CO), as the interviews were undertaken at different places and at different times. Inevitably, this produced another kind of problem: that of reconciling the individual accounts of what had transpired. This was dealt with through a manual comparison of the answers given by each informant, the results being summarised in a Supplementary Coding Schedule (see Appendix V). By this means we were enabled also to ascertain the answers to questions which could not by their nature have been asked of the CO at the time of the interview, such as whether a subsequent change in the leaver's aspirations were toward an occupation which had previously been discussed with the CO, and if so, whether the CO considered it suitable. The Supplementary Coding Schedules (another was used for the fullow-up interviews) were also employed as a means of relating together the answers given at different points in the same interview, or at different interviews, to determine how far, for instance, jobs obtained corresponded with the leaver's aspirations and whether his or her aspirations had changed significantly, over the five years. This was particularly important because slight differences in job descriptions can easily lead to different classifications, if they are coded independently of one another, whereas if examined together in an historical sequence, such mistakes can often be avoided. For the same reason, a check was always made, when coding occupations at each successive round of interviews with the leavers, to

ensure that if an informant was still working for the same employer and said that he was still doing the same kind of work, that we coded the occupation consistently. On occasion, of course, this required the earlier coding to be amended, if additional or clearer information furnished by the informant on the second occasion showed that we had been misled previously.

As we have explained, all four interviews with the leavers contained a constant 'core' of questions designed to provide a continuous account of each one's career. However, although the information collected about jobs at each interview provides an historical sequence, it only represents a 'sampling' of each individual's experiences. To maximise the benefits that repeated interviewing over the survey period has over collection of all data at one interview at the end, we needed to minimise the number of attitudinal questions asked in relation to past events. Our approach was, therefore, to confine the detailed questions about employment to the jobs our informants had at the time of each interview. Information about other jobs that some had begun and left since the previous interview, was confined simply to recording their number, together with noting how long people were without work on each occasion they changed jobs. This provided us with an outline of each informant's career, as represented by his or her employment at four intervals over the five years, supplemented by a full record of the number of job changes, and of unemployment, throughout the whole period of the survey. It also had the incidental advantage of reducing the tedium for the informant of having to recount details of past jobs, enabling us to devote more time to exploring all aspects of the individual's current employment, or, for the unemployed, to finding out more about their difficulties in getting work. However, if the person happened to be unemployed at the first or final interview, we obtained a basic description of the informant's *last* job, so that we had reference points to mark the beginning and the end of every employment history.

By introducing different supplementary topics at each interview, we aimed to give each one a distinctive theme and centre of interest, for the informant. The first interview, which is dealt with in the present volume, was primarily concerned with the leaver's ambitions; ways of finding jobs; sources of advice and help; attitudes to work in general; and a detailed account of their reactions to their first jobs. The second interview, fifteen months later, was deliberately kept short so as not to discourage future co-operation, and enquired into the ethnic composition of the staff at the informant's workplace; relations with management; leisure interests and club membership. The third interview, at a further interval of eighteen months, concentrated on attitudes to and involvement in trades unions, willingness to move elsewhere to obtain a (better) job, and how the person now felt about decisions made when leaving school and his or her subsequent experiences. The questions of these first three interviews were decided, in outline, at the commencement of the survey. The planning of the fourth and final interview was left until we knew whether sample attrition would permit us to carry out a further interview, and when our earlier findings could act as a guide to the issues needing further exploration. On finding that sample numbers would be adequate, we decided in the last interview to re-examine, in more detail, our informants' perceptions of the merits of different kinds of employment agency and other means of obtaining work. Additionally, we took advantage of our informants' now considerable experience of work, and their adulthood (they were now in their early twenties), to ask them to reassess their previous aspirations and to rank the general desirability of their current jobs, relative to other occupations within their sphere of reference. Finally, as we did not need any longer to concern ourselves about arousing undue sensitivity toward, and awareness of, our special interest in the subject of discrimination, we took the opportunity to ask our West Indian informants a battery of questions on this topic, to obtain a fuller account of their subjective impressions – for comparison with our objectively determined measures – of the extent to which they had been disadvantaged by discrimination, in their employment.

The final interview took place two years after the third. The intervals between interviews were thus increased progressively throughout the survey. This was done on the assumption that the period immediately after our informants left school was probably the most important to monitor intensively; because we wished to avoid overtaxing their willingness to co-operate; and because of the need to spread out the timetable of fieldwork, which would otherwise have become over congested when interviewing of the Birmingham second-year sample commenced. The fieldwork programme we decided upon also gave us time to make a preliminary examination of the results of each round of interviews and to design and pilot the next stages adequately. The accompanying Figure 2.1 provides an account of each of the principal stages of fieldwork. It illustrates that during the main period of the survey when the pilots were being conducted and both Year 1 and 2 samples were being interviewed, there was rarely more than three months respite between one round of fieldwork and the next. During these intervening periods, moreover, we had to fit in the postal contacts with informants – to check on address changes between interviews – which have been omitted from Figure 2.1, along with the preliminary stages of collecting information from schools, in order to simplify the presentation.

Piloting

Every stage of the survey, from the collection of the basic data from schools, on which the selection of classes and leavers was based, through to the interviews with the leavers, their parents and the Careers Officers, had of course to be tested in advance. This, as Figure 2.1 illustrates, required us to carry out a trial run of procedures and documentation one year in advance of the first stage of the main fieldwork. For this purpose

Figure 2.1 Fieldwork programme

Period of fieldwork	Pilot	Main stage*	
		Year 1 Sample (London and Birmingham)	Year 2 Sample (Birmingham only)
January to February 1971	1st interview with leavers (plus parents and Careers Officers)†	—	—
September 1971	—	1st interview with Easter leavers (plus parents and Careers Officers)†	—
January to March 1972	—	1st interview with Summer leavers (plus parents and Careers Officers)†	—
April 1972	2nd interview with leavers	—	—
September to October 1972	—	—	1st interview with Easter leavers (plus parents and Careers Officers)†
December 1972	—	2nd interview with Easter leavers	—
January to March 1973	—	—	1st interview with Summer leavers (plus parents and Careers Officers)§
April to June 1973	—	2nd interview with Summer leavers	—
October to November 1973	3rd interview with leavers	—	—
December 1973	—	—	2nd interview with Easter leavers
April to May 1974	—	—	2nd interview with Summer leavers
June 1974	—	3rd interview with Easter leavers	—
October to December 1974	—	3rd interview with Summer leavers	—
June 1975	—	—	3rd interview with Easter leavers
October to December 1975	4th (final) interview with leavers	—	3rd interview with Summer leavers
June to July 1976	—	4th (final) interview with Easter leavers	—
October to December 1976	—	4th (final) interview with Summer leavers	—
June to July 1977	—	—	4th (final) interview with Easter leavers
October to December 1977	—	—	4th (final) interview with Summer leavers

* *To simplify presentation, we have omitted the preliminary* postal *stages in which information was collected from schools about class composition, and Teachers' Questionnaires were completed (see Appendix I). Also omitted are the postal contacts (with interviewer follow-up of non-responders) undertaken* between *interviews (see Chapter 1).*

† *In addition to pilots for developing field documentation, shown above, we also carried out field tests of the efficacy of employing West Indian interviewers, in 1971, (see Appendix IV).*

§ *Parents were interviewed at home, at the same time but separately, from the leavers. Careers Officers were visited in their offices and interviewed shortly after we visited the leavers and their parents.*

we obtained a sample of 1976 Summer Term leavers, in 1970, from the London Borough of Newham.

The tested and finalised interview documents so produced for the initial interview with the leavers and their parents were then used in a further pilot exercise in May/June 1971, to test out the efficacy of using West Indian interviewers. This demonstrated that although there were relatively few differences in response when the interviews were conducted by West Indian compared with white interviewers, the divergences were sufficiently important to justify the employment of at least some West Indians to do the interviewing at the main stage. However, the West Indian interviewers' higher refusal and non-contact rates (attributable no doubt to their inexperience) and the difficulties we had recruiting them, caused us to decide to divide the West Indian leavers' sample equally between West Indian and white interviewers. This compromise had the added advantage that it enabled us to compare responses between the sub-samples dealt with by each type of interviewer, at all stages of the fieldwork. Fuller details of this trial run of West Indian interviewers are contained in Appendix IV, together with a summary of the differences in response actually found at the main stage first interview.

Data collected from schools and the Careers Service

Reproductions of all questionnaires used to collect the data presented in this report will be found in Appendix V. The procedure used for obtaining background information from the schools and the teachers is described in Appendix I.

The Teachers Questionnaire was despatched and returned by post. The first sections asked for details of school class, name and address, exam results, sex, date and place of birth, and age started school in the UK. These parts were generally completed by the School Secretary in each school, from office records. The final

part, which had to be filled in by a teacher who knew the pupil well, asked for personality ratings, an assessment of academic potential, reasons the child was leaving school (that is to start work or go on to full-time further education) and any other information that might be pertinent to future employment, such as physical disabilities.

The teachers were asked to assess the personality of each leaver on five, seven-point semantic differential scales (see Teachers' Questionnaire Part D, in Appendix V). The aim was to rate the leaver in respect of *three* general personality traits: co-operativeness, social maturity, and extraversion/introversion. Details of the methods by which the raw data were grouped for this purpose are given in Appendix III. The items used to measure each of these three personality dimensions were selected as being the best indicators from a national study of school leavers, conducted by this office, shortly before.[1] Whilst to that extent the items chosen had been previously tested on an analogous population, they are best regarded here as measures of the *subjective* impressions of the teacher, rather than as objective measures of the pupil's traits, as one needs to be wary of the possibility that the teachers' assessments of their West Indian pupils might have been influenced by an ethnocentric bias. However, this possible limitation to the validity of the personality assessments – when viewed as objective measures of the pupils' behavioural characteristics – can be turned to practical use. It can help, for example, to elucidate differences in the teachers' behaviour and attitudes towards their pupils as evinced by the divergence in the success with which they were able to predict their West Indian pupils' exam performances, compared to their White pupils' (see Chapter 3). The teacher's impressions (and those of the Careers Officer which we shall discuss presently) are also a useful guide to how a prospective employer might see the leaver.

The Youth Employment Service (now 'Careers Service') Questionnaire was interviewer administered. A few weeks after the completion of the first interviews with the leavers and their parents, visits were made to the appropriate Careers Offices to see the officers who had been responsible for counselling the leavers and assisting them to find work. Although administrative arrangements had to be made well in advance, we deliberately avoided giving the offices lengthy notice of the leavers in whom we were interested. The Careers Offices were given the names (so that they could assemble the appropriate records for reference) only a day or two before the visits. This was to ensure that the officers' treatment of the sampled leavers would not be unconsciously influenced by prior knowledge of their identity. As there were often a large number of leavers about whom information had to be collected at an office, interviews usually had to be spread over several days. Sometimes, the officers we wished to see were unavailable because they had moved elsewhere, or for other reasons. In these cases, another member of the staff was generally able to furnish most of the information required, from office records. The topics covered included details of all the occupations which the leaver had discussed with the CO, the officer's recommendations, the total number of jobs for which the leaver had been submitted, and the number of times the leaver visited the office when there was nothing suitable that could be offered to him/her. This was supplemented by an account of the purposes and outcomes of all the interviews with the leaver. Thereafter, if the officer had dealt personally with the leaver, he was asked also to rate the leaver's oral abilities and general intelligence. The latter questions were designed to measure the officer's *subjective* impressions of his client. This was partly so as to provide some background to the advice the officer gave to the leaver, and partly to act as a guide to the impression the leaver might make on a prospective employer.

The composition and matching of the samples

As we explained in the introduction, the West Indians in Categories 1 and 2 were individually matched to Whites of the same educational level, age and sex, living in the same locality. For this purpose we only took Whites whose parents were natives of the British Isles. We also omitted altogether anyone of mixed ethnic descent. There was an insufficient number of leavers of mixed descent for them to be analysed separately, and had they been included in either the White or the West Indian samples it would have confused the comparisons we wished to draw between the characteristic attitudes and behaviour of the two ethnic groups.

The information about parents' birthplaces and about the birthplace and (where appropriate) the age when a West Indian child first came to the UK – which was needed to determine his or her 'category' – had all been obtained previously from the school. The school records, however, were not always reliable in these matters and therefore, at the first interview, we checked the information with the parents and leavers themselves. When mistakes were found, we adjusted our records and made any necessary changes to the matching – as when it transpired that an informant reported by the school to be in Category 3, was in fact in Category 2. Further details about the selection of samples is given in Appendix I, together with details of the numbers and proportions of leavers (from the selected classes) who were included in the survey, or who went on to full-time further education, etc.

The procedure adopted when matching was first to split both ethnic groups by sex and school-year age-bands. If, as occasionally happened, a leaver was in an age-band different from that of the school year in which he or she was found (say where a pupil of sixth-form age was actually in a fifth-form class) we sought to obtain a match, not from within the same class, but from a class of the correct age-band. Otherwise, we tried always to match each West Indian in Categories 1 and 2 to a White leaver from the same class. This was done by comparing the number and levels of all passes in the GCE, CSE and (where applicable) RSA examinations.

When the person had taken the same subject in an examination more than once, we counted it once only, at the highest level at which it had been passed. In keeping with normal practice, a CSE graded 1 pass was treated as equivalent to a pass at GCE O level. CSE grades 2 to 5 were not differentiated, nor did we attempt generally to match exam subjects, except where there was more than one suitable match with the same number of exam passes. For it to have been practicable to do this in all cases, we would have needed a much larger pool of White leavers from which to select.

Obviously, exact matches were not always possible. We tried, however, to avoid a difference of more than one pass at a particular level and as the data reproduced in Chapter 3 shows (see Table 3.1), we were generally successful. But to achieve this degree of correspondence in educational levels we were often obliged to seek a match from anywhere within the appropriate age-band in the school, or where this proved fruitless, to take a leaver from a class in another sampled school within the catchment area served by the same Careers Office.

In some instances, we were unable to match within the same school class because we were informed that each pupil was a member of more than one differently constituted tutorial group – each covering a specific group of subjects. In other cases, the classes were only very loosely streamed and were of over-lapping ability levels, which was itself exemplified by the fact of our being able to find more suitable matches in another class. Thus, where we were obliged to match leavers from different classes within the same school, it was largely a consequence of the manner in which the schools were organised and the only loss, in respect to the leavers' matching characteristics, was that they did not always share the same class teacher. We would have preferred, in all schools, to have collected information about every eligible leaver from each *year* which contained a Category 1 West Indian leaver, and then to have matched regardless of class. This would have had what in our estimation was the greater benefit of providing a larger range of White leavers from whom to choose, and furnishing better samples of West Indian Categories 2 and 3; but this method had to be rejected because it was unacceptable to schools which had a large number of leavers only a few of which were West Indians.

When we had to obtain a match from another school we were able to ensure, in most cases, that it was from one served by the same Careers Office. This guaranteed that the matched pair had similar employment opportunities and that they had been counselled by the same Careers Service personnel.

The greatest difficulty was experienced with the Easter leavers. Relatively few leavers depart at Easter and hence the range of choice for matches was very restricted. This caused a disproportionately high number of our least adequate matches to be in this group. It was thought preferable, however, to tolerate some roughness in their pairing rather than take the easy path of confining the exercise to Summer leavers.

Before finally accepting a pair of leavers as being suitably matched, we examined their personality ratings, furnished by teachers. We were wary of giving too much credence to minor differences, because of the dubiousness of cross-cultural comparisons of personality discussed earlier; but it was thought desirable to avoid pairing leavers whose personal traits were regarded by teachers as being very dissimilar, because gross divergences could well affect the leavers' employment. The compromise adopted was therefore to reject a pairing between two youngsters only when their personality assessments differed to the extent that one or more of the traits included in the list had been marked at opposite extremes of the scale (see Teachers' Questionnaire, Part D in Appendix V).

Combination of sub-samples

We have already dealt, in the previous chapter, with the general representativeness of our various samples. We need, however, to explain how the samples have been used for analytical purposes, and how we have dealt with one or two problems which arose when analysing area differences. As we have already noted, the sub-samples of West Indians and of their matched Whites are all alike, so far as we could make them, in respect of their characteristics most relevant to employment. This has enabled us to confine our attention to the divergences in their employment experiences which must, in consequence, be attributable to the factors on which they were *not* matched, such as ethnicity, or the length of time the West Indians had resided in Britain. In a conventional survey whose purpose is to estimate the characteristics (or 'parameters') of a whole population from a randomly selected sample thereof, it would not be permissible to combine the sub-samples of Categories 1, 2 and 3 West Indians, because of their varying representativeness. Even were they to be similarly representative, they would need to be appropriately 'weighted' to restore the proportions of each category in the sample population to that which pertains in the general population. The 'matching' principle around which this study has been designed enables us, however, to disregard these restrictions. The fact that the sub-samples of Whites and Category 2 and 3 West Indians may be atypical of the groups from which they are drawn, and are disproportionately represented in the sample population, is irrelevant to our purposes. Consequently, the Category 1 and 2 West Indians can be combined without reweighting – similarly for their matched Whites. The only restriction that has to be observed is that the Later Migrants (Category 3) cannot be combined with the (Category 1 and 2) Early Migrants, because only the latter are matched to Whites and, therefore, the addition of the Category 3 West Indians would invalidate any comparison with the White group. However, although all the West Indians cannot, collectively, be compared with the Whites, the individual categories of West Indians may, separately,

be compared with each other, to determine the influence of varying lengths of residence in Britain, because they also are broadly matched to one another, educationally and by area, through having been drawn from the same school classes.

Leavers from the Easter and Summer terms had of course to be selected (and subsequently interviewed) at different times. However, in our analysis we have invariably combined them, as the four-month interval between their times of leaving school, and between their subsequent interviews, was not large enough, and also the number of Easter leavers was insufficient, to justify analysing them separately.

When we came to examine the data it was also found that there was generally little or no difference in the personal characteristics, behaviour and experiences of the Category 1 and 2 West Indians, whereas the Category 3 West Indians frequently diverged considerably from the other two groups. This implies that the critical factor was the amount of *secondary* education that West Indians had received in Britain, and/or that five years residence in this country (the minimum period required for someone to enter Category 2) was usually sufficient to enable a West Indian child immigrant to adapt to life in Britain and to overcome much of the cultural disorientation associated with migration. Whatever the reasons for the lack of differentiation between the Category 1 and 2 West Indians, however, it has proved a considerable convenience, in that it has enabled us to combine the two samples for most purposes, to form the 'Early Migrant' sample which (in conjunction with the associated matched White sample) is central to our analysis throughout the two volumes of the report. We have, nevertheless, always taken the precaution of checking, at every stage of the analysis, that the trends displayed by the two constituent categories of the Early Migrant group followed the same general pattern. Whenever there was a noteworthy difference (for example, in relation to the possession and the strength of 'West Indian' accents) this has been noted in the commentary.

An unwanted further complication to an already complex survey design was produced by the need to recruit a second annual sample from Birmingham, in 1972. Had we been able to, we would have preferred to treat the two areas similarly, by taking a second sample in Greater London also, but the difficulties we had experienced in gaining co-operation from Inner London schools (See Appendix I), made it apparent that we would be most unlikely to obtain an adequate response were we to return to them a second time. This has left us, in consequence, with a disproportionately high number of Birmingham leavers in the samples. As each matched pair of Early Migrant and White leavers invariably left school from the same area, in the same term, this uneveness in the geographic distribution of the samples is automatically controlled for and hence, for most purposes, we have been able to combine the Year 1 and 2 samples of the matched leavers. The Later Migrants, however, have presented us with more of a problem. As they were not matched to Whites they can only be directly compared with the other categories of West Indians, to whom they are broadly matched through having been drawn from the same school classes.

However, we found that the ratio of Early to Later Migrants was not the same in London and Birmingham – there being proportionately more Later Migrants amongst the Londoners. In addition, whereas the sex ratios of the Early Migrants were the same (47% girls) in both areas, the Later Migrants had slightly uneven area sex ratios, being 55% girls in London and 46% in Birmingham. Consequently, when we have found evidence of variations both by sex *and* area we have generally had to confine our analysis to the Early Migrants and their matched Whites, as the sample of Later Migrants was not large enough to be sub-divided by both area and sex. The small size of the Later Migrant samples has also proved to be a problem at other points in the analysis, when we have needed to examine subgroups within each sample. Sometimes this has meant, once again, confining detailed analysis to the Early Migrants and Whites. On other occasions, as when subdividing the samples by educational level, we have circumvented the difficulty by only featuring those sub-groups of Later Migrants in which their numbers were adequate.

The use of indices and composite variables

Composite variables which combine information obtained from different parts of an interview, or from a variety of sources, are used throughout the analysis, to simplify the presentation of our findings. This was where the data collated in the Supplementary Coding Schedule was often put to use, especially in relation to the role of the Careers Service in advising and assisting the leavers to find jobs, and when summarising changes in the leavers' career orientations subsequent to leaving school. Numerous indices have also been derived from the answers to question inventories relating to attitudes to work, methods of finding employment, vocational training, and the leaver's assessments of various aspects of his or her current employment, etc.

Additionally, the nature of the survey required us to assess the 'quality' of jobs and the 'realism' of ambitions, as objectively as possible, and to determine how 'suitable' a job was for the leaver, including how closely it corresponded to his or her original aspirations. Existing standard classifications of occupations were seldom entirely appropriate for these purposes. To meet our needs, therefore, we have compressed the OPCS standard Social Class and Industrial classifications; used a grouped version of the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale; and employed an adapted version of a system of assessing the academic suitability of leavers for job vacancies devised by the Chief Careers Adviser in Birmingham.

Where it is not self-evident, we have provided in Appendix III an account of how each of the derived variables or indices was constructed, cross-referenced to where it is first used in the body of the report. Full details of the occupational classifications and how they interrelate will also be found in the appendix.

Statistical tests and the use of 'matched pairs' tables

As we have already explained, the main aims of this study have been to examine the extent to which ethnically related variables, and length of residence in Britain, affected a West Indian's success in employment. To help control for other extraneous variables we have matched the West Indians, as far as was practicable, to their white schoolmates of the same age, sex and educational level, who were also leaving school to start work at the same time.

The rationale behind our approach is probably best expressed in the words of Siegel:[2]

> "One way to overcome the difficulty imposed by extraneous differences between groups is to use two related samples in the research. That is, one may 'match' or otherwise relate the two samples studied. This matching may be achieved by using each subject as his own control, or by pairing subjects . . .. When the pairing method is used, the effort is to select for each pair subjects who are as much alike as possible with respect to any extraneous variables which might influence the outcome of the research . . .. The usual parametric technique for analysing data from two related samples is to apply a 't' test to the difference scores. A difference score may be obtained from the two scores of the two members of each matched pair . . .. The 't' test assumes that these difference scores are normally and independently distributed in the population from which the sample was drawn, *and requires that they be measured on at least an interval scale.*" (our italics)
>
> "In a number of instances, the 't' test is inapplicable. The researcher may find that (a) the assumptions and requirements of the 't' test are unrealistic for his data, (b) he may prefer to avoid making the assumptions or testing the requirements, and thus give greater generality to his conclusions, (c) his differences between matched pairs are not represented as scores but rather as 'signs', or (d) his scores are simply classificatory – the two members of the matched pair can either respond in the same way or in entirely different ways which do not stand in any order, or quantitative relation. In these instances, the experimenter may choose from one of the non-parametric statistical tests for two related samples."

As the 't' test is not suited to 'classificatory' type data (see Seigel's point (d) above), of which most of ours consists, it would be of only limited application here. Similarly, of the three non-parametric tests that Siegel proposes (the McNemar test for the significance of change, the sign test and the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-rank test) the last two also can only be used on ordinal data. In addition, all these tests are primarily for determining the significance of an *overall* difference between two matched groups, and tell us nothing about the reasons for any divergences. It is essential to our purposes, however, not only to determine whether there is a significant divergence between the samples, but also to ascertain the magnitude of the differences and the extent to which they are associated with ethnically related variables. After much experimentation, therefore, we have chosen an alternative means of measuring the differences between the matched pairs which is better suited to our needs.

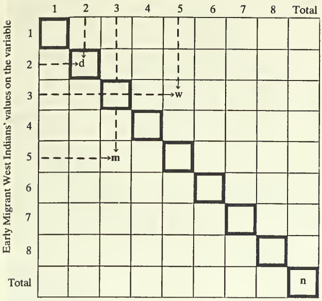
As with the various tests discussed above, the method we have elected to employ is only applicable to ordinal or interval variables, but it has the advantage of showing *simultaneously*, and in a readily comprehensible form, the separate effects that the matching factors, ethnic differences, and other extraneous influences, have on the distribution of any given variable. This 'matched pairs table' is similar to a conventional cross-tabulation in appearance but differs in that its two axes represent not two different variables (as in a normal two-way table) but the distribution of values for the *same* variable, for each of the two ethnic groups whose members have been paired. Thus, each pair of matched informants is represented on both axes and the value attributed to the West Indian is related directly to the value for his or her matched White. This is best illustrated by reference to Figure 2.2.

The cells in the table shown in Example A of Figure 2.2 represent the values attributed to each matched pair. Thus, cell 'm' is an instance of where the West Indian had a value of 5 and the White to whom he or she was matched had a value of 3. Whereas, cell 'w' indicates an instance where the values attributed to the West Indian and the White were the other way about. Cell 'd' (and any other cell similarly located on the diagonal) is where each member of a matched pair had the same value – in this instance '2'. The corner total 'n' is the total number of matched pairs included in the table, and the marginal 'totals' provide the overall distribution of values for each ethnic group. The total number of individuals in each group naturally summate to the number of pairs.

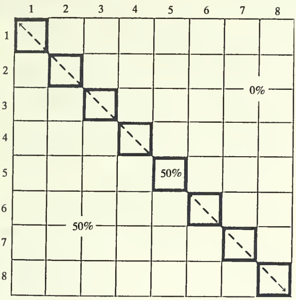
From such a table one can assess the strength of the association of the matching factors with the variable being considered, by noting the proportion of pairs located in the diagonal boxes. Similarly, an asymmetrical distribution of the pairs *off* the diagonal indicates an 'ethnic effect': that is, when the majority lie at the bottom it shows that West Indians tended to have the higher values, whereas when the points of convergence predominate at the top the Whites had the higher values. The significance of any degree of asymmetry, however, is obviously also dependent on the *proportion* of the sample off the diagonal (that is, on the relative strength of the 'matching effect'), as well as on the extent to which the distribution is skewed. A low matching effect combined with a low ethnicity effect

Figure 2.2 Illustrations of matched pairs tables

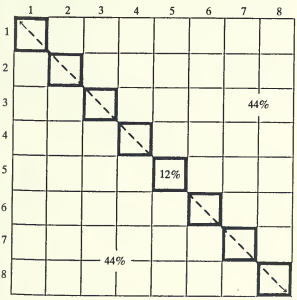
Example A
White Leavers' values on the variable



Example B



Example C



indicates the influence of other extraneous factors, other than ethnicity or those used for matching. Thus, in Figure 2.2, Example B, where 50% of the pairs have identical values and the remaining 50% all lie in the bottom sector, we have an instance where both the matching effect and the effect of ethnically associated factors were relatively strong and account for all or most of the variance. Were the pairs all to be randomly distributed, indicating no matching or ethnic effects theoretically it would place an eighth of the total in the diagonal boxes: the rest being spread equally in the top and bottom sectors, as illustrated in Example C. In practice, of course, the situation almost invariably lies somewhere between these two extremes.

It should also be noted that the significance of any given proportion on the diagonal increases with the number of cells in the table (or values on each axis). Thus, if there are only four cells in a table (showing a variable with only two values) a totally random distribution giving 25% to each cell would automatically produce 50% on the diagonal, and therefore there can only be a 'matching effect' in these circumstances if the proportion is over 50%. Whereas, a totally random distribution in a table with sixteen cells (depicting a variable with four values each way) would contain 6.25% in each cell and therefore a total of 25% in the four diagonal cells. Any increment above 25% on the diagonal would then indicate a 'matching effect'.

Differences in the distribution of values for each ethnic group are shown in these tables, in two ways. The marginal distributions show how the values for the groups *as a whole* compare. The manner in which overall group differences are distributed between matched pairs of informants is reflected in the location of the pairs within the body of the table. Inspection of the tables in Figure 2.2. will show that the larger the difference between the values attributed to each member of a matched pair, the further their cell will be located away from the diagonal. Hence, when assessing the significance of an asymmetrical distribution, account also needs to be taken of the *position* of the divergent pairs within each sector. When they cluster in one of the corners furthest from the diagonal this gives added significance to the asymmetry; whereas when they are concentrated close to the diagonal it indicates the asymmetry has a lesser significance. similarly, if the asymmetry is much more apparent at, say, one end of the diagonal this shows that divergences tend to occur only in certain circumstances.

Although seemingly complicated, in practice, the interpretation of the tables is very easily mastered. The main points to bear in mind are:

The matching effect
Generally, the larger the proportion of pairs located in the diagonal boxes, the stronger the association between the matching factors and the variable. But note that when the range of values is small, the proportion on the diagonal tends automatically to be higher.

The ethnic effect
Any asymmetry in the distribution indicates an association between ethnically related factors and the variable. The greater the imbalance toward one corner, the stronger the association.

The effect of other extraneous factors
The absence of a matching or ethnic effect signifies that variations in the factor being measured by the variable are associated with things *other than* sex, age, education, locality or ethnicity.

These various relationships can be expressed mathematically, in a manner that measures each 'effect' through a number of indices. These were utilised at the initial analysis stage as an aid to distinguishing the more important relationships that had emerged in the data, but we have eschewed their use in the report on the grounds that for the general reader the full table illustrates the relationships between the various factors more graphically and in a more easily understood manner. Also, although the matched pairs table provides a convenient summary of the *overall* effects of matching the ethnicity on the distribution of a particular variable, it tells us nothing about the relative importance of each of the matching factors. Having demonstrated whatever general associations are present, the next stage in the analysis, therefore, is to examine the component factors individually, to establish which had the most influence. At this second stage, the data is presented in the form of a conventional cross-tabulation which enables us then to compare the corresponding data from the (unmatched) Later Migrants' sample. In these tables, although we are no longer comparing individually matched pairs, each sub-group of Early Migrants and Whites (for example, of boys/girls, or of each educational stratum) is similarly constituted in terms of the other matching factors, thereby enabling us to examine the relative influence of each matching factor independently. This applies also to the cross-tabulations of the nominal (or classificatory) variables of which the greater part of our data consists, but which are unsuitable for presentation through matched pairs tables. As explained previously, however, although the Later Migrants were broadly of the same educational level as the Early Migrants, they had different sex and area distributions, so that whenever sex and/or area are found to have an effect on a dependent variable it limits the comparability of the samples and the analyses of the Later Migrant data has to be restricted.

For the purposes of the analysis we have placed the leavers into three educational strata, described throughout the two volumes of the report as 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. The top stratum consists of leavers who left school with one or more passes at GCE O level (or CSE grade 1). The middle stratum is for those who had three or more CSEs. at grades 2 to 5 only. The bottom stratum includes leavers who left school without any qualifications, or with not more than two CSEs, at grades 2 to 5 only. In the instances where slight differences in the educational attainments of a matched pair would otherwise have resulted in their being allocated to different strata, we have based the allocation of both the Early Migrant *and* the matched White on the *West Indian's* educational attainments (see Table 3.1). This procedure ensured that the age, sex and residential distributions of the Whites matches that of the Early Migrants in the corresponding educational stratum.

Non-response
Response rates at the first interview are given in Appendix II, along with an account of the characteristics of those who were lost from the sample during fieldwork. One of the advantages of a longitudinal design is that the information previously collected in respect of informants lost at subsequent interview stages can be used to assess whether, and to what extent, the survey findings are likely to have been biased as a consequence of certain types of informant having a greater propensity to be lost. This to some extent offsets the effects of cumulative losses at the follow-up stages, as it enables one to make allowance for the bias, or to control for the changes in sample composition, in the course of the analysis. A full account of the characteristics of informants who refused further interviews, whom we were unable to trace again at recall, or who became ineligible for further interviews (because of giving up full-time employment), at each stage of the survey, will be found in Appendix II to Volume 2; together with a discussion of the effects that these losses had on the composition of the residual samples. For an explanation of the methods used to help compensate, or to control, for changes in sample composition over time, the reader should refer to Chapter 2 of Volume 2.

References

1 Thomas R and Wetherall, D. *Looking forward to work.* HMSO, 1970. p 93.
2 Siegel, S. *Non-parametric statistics for the behavioural sciences.* McGraw-Hill Kogakushe, 1956. p 61.

Part I Leaver's general background

3 Education, personal characteristics and family background

In the earlier discussion of the purpose and design of this survey we explained that throughout our analysis we shall be focussing attention on the differences in the experiences and behaviour of the West Indians and Whites. We had endeavoured to match our informants on as many characteristics as was practicable, so that when comparing one group with another they should be as similar as possible in relation to the factors most relevant to their employment. There are obviously limits to how far one can go in controlling for individual differences, and so before embarking on the main analysis we shall consider in this chapter some of the other things which were likely to influence the leavers' employment behaviour and attitudes, but which could not be included in the matching procedure. As the information about many of these (unmatched) factors was gathered from teachers and Careers Officers (COs) it was susceptible to subjective bias. The ethnocentric bias displayed by the teachers and COs in their assessment of the leaver's personal characteristics proved, in fact, to be the most valuable feature of the data, as it helped to explain how and why prospective employers tended to discriminate against West Indian job applicants.

Education – general

The qualifications which a leaver has succeeded in obtaining before leaving school may, of course, be a poor indication of his or her ultimate educational potential. The extent to which that potential has been fulfilled, however, is of interest in that it is a measure of the effectiveness of the pupil's schooling. It is also relevant to the leaver's suitability for further (vocational) education and consequently, to the nature of the work for which the person is best suited. However, whilst the examinations passed at school are an objective indicator of educational attainment, the teachers' personal assessments of academic potential are necessarily subjective.

Before we can be satisfied that these assessments are valid measures of potential, therefore, we must check to see if there is any evidence of their having an ethnocentric or social class bias. This we shall do presently.

Another aspect of our leavers' education, which, like their academic potential, we were unable to incorporate into the matching procedure, was the subjects in which they had passed exams. We took account of the number and level of their exam passes, but not of the subjects. We shall, therefore, also examine the extent to which the samples varied in their educational attainments with respect to the key subjects of English and Maths.

Before we deal with this data on unmatched educational factors, however, we need to examine the actual level of qualifications obtained by our informants before leaving school. Table 3.1 shows the level of educational attainment of each of the matched pairs of informants. That is, for the Early Migrants (Categories 1 and 2) and the Whites with whom they were paired.

None of the Early Migrant leavers had a GCE A level pass. Only about a fifth had passes at O level – and for many of these it was in fact a CSE grade 1 which, in keeping with normal practice, was treated as equivalent to a pass at GCE O level. Just over a half had CSEs grades 2 to 5 only and nearly a quarter had no exam passes of any kind. This relatively low educational standard is partly because better qualified leavers (especially those with A levels) often go on to some type of full-time further education. (An indication of the proportions who were leaving to go on to full-time further education, from the classes from which our samples were drawn, is given in Appendix I.) It should also be remembered that the Whites were deliberately selected as having qualifications similar to those of the West Indians; they do not necessarily reflect the general level of qualifications of White leavers from the classes, and even less from throughout the schools, from whence they came.

Table 3.1 also provides an indication of the relative success of the matching by educational level. The original matching was on an individual basis, not in terms of the groupings shown in the table, and a degree of flexibility was unavoidable, to accommodate leavers with unusual combinations of examination passes; so some divergence is to be expected. Nevertheless, 74% of the paired leavers (the sum of those on the diagonal) had an identical level of qualifications and the remaining quarter were evenly spread on either side of the diagonal, that is, in 14% of the pairs the West Indian had a marginally higher level of exam passes and in 12% it was the Whites' qualifications that were slightly higher. Most of the divergences occurred where the leaver had sat CSE exams only and there was a difference of one in the number passed at grades 2 to 5; or where one informant had passes at grades 2 to 5 only but the other had secured a pass at grade 1 in one of his/her subjects which, as was noted above, we treated as being equivalent to a GCE O level pass. Such less

Table 3.1 Educational attainments of matched pairs

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	No quals	1–2 CSEs	3 or more CSEs	1–3 O levels	4 or more O levels	Totals
No quals	21% 80	0% 1	—	—	—	81
1–2 CSEs	4% 14	9% 33	6% 23	—	—	70
3 or more CSEs	—	2% 8	31% 115	4% 16	—	139
1–3 O levels	—	—	6% 22	12% 46	1% 4	72
4 or more O levels	—	—	—	2% 7	1% 4	11
Totals	94	42	160	69	8	Base (=100%) 373

NB See note to Table 3.2

exact matches occurred most commonly in the Easter terms when we experienced particular difficulty finding suitable pairs because the much smaller numbers leaving school at that time greatly limited our range of choice. However, as prospective employers would be unlikely to pay heed to such minor differences, they are of little importance, especially as the instances where the West Indians were marginally better qualified are evenly balanced by the numbers where the Whites had the advantage.

A further comparison of the educational attainments of all the West Indians, including Later Migrants, in terms of their sex and length of education in the UK (as indicated by their 'category'), is provided in Table 3.2. The West Indian sub-groups only are shown because West Indian-White comparisons on educational attainment would simply reflect matching. The table shows the educational levels of the three categories to be similar, especially when seen in terms of the proportions with O level qualifications, which is probably the most important criterion. Thus, the proportions of leavers with an O level, in the individual groups, all fell within the range of 18% to 25%. The greatest differences were between the sexes. In all categories the girls had marginally higher levels of attainment, with 24% to 25% having at least one GCE O level (or its equivalent CSE grade 1 pass), compared with 18% to 23% of the boys. The divergences are larger at other levels, but these are of lesser importance. The largest is between leavers with no qualifications of any kind and those with one or two CSE passes at grades 2 to 5 only – a distinction of little significance so far as qualifications for a job are concerned. Most of the leavers who had an O level (or its equivalent) had passed a maximum of three subjects at that level.

This lack of any significant variation in the educational qualifications of the categories has important implications for the analysis of the survey results. As was explained in the Introduction, the categories are of varying representativeness; only the Category 1 West Indians can be regarded as fully representative. The other two categories were not intended to be a random selection of their respective sub-groups from throughout the UK, but by taking them from the same school classes as those from which the Category 1 leavers were drawn we hoped to obtain samples that were broadly similar in their overall educational levels so that we could treat them as equally qualified for employment, thereby enabling us to assess the affects that differing lengths of residence in the UK (and other associated variables) had upon employment behaviour and experiences. Table 3.2 is important, therefore, in that it demonstrates that our objective to obtain samples of a similar educational level was largely met. Also, being matched in terms of the schools they attended ensured that the assessments of their personal characteristics were obtained from the same teachers and Careers Officers as for the Category 1 West Indians, and that they lived in the same localities and consequently

Table 3.2 West Indian educational attainment by sex and category

Educational attainment	Early Migrants				Later Migrants	
	Category 1		Category 2		Category 3	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	30	32	17	14	21	15
1–2 CSEs (grade 2–5 only)	14	15	23	22	33	18
3 or more CSEs (grade 2–5) only	35	28	43	39	23	43
(subtotal)	79	75	82	74	77	76
1–3 GCE O levels (or CSE grade 1)	20	25	15	20	19	18
4 or more O levels (or CSE grade 1)	1	—	3	6	3	4
A level	—	—	—	—	1	1
(subtotal)	21	25	18	26	23	24
Base (All leavers)	96	60	101	116	70	72

Important note *(See Chapter 2)*

For the purposes of analysis, throughout the two volumes of the report we have collapsed the levels of educational attainment shown above into three strata: 'high', 'medium' and 'low':
low = No educational qualifications, or not more than 2 CSE passes (at grades 2 to 5 only)
medium = 3 or more CSE passes (at grades 2 to 5 only)
high = 1 or more passes at GCE O level (or CSE grade 1)

Table 3.3 CSE or GCE passes in English and Mathematics

Had obtained a pass at CSE or GCE level in:	Boys					Girls				
	Matched Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	Matched Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants
	(Cat 1)	(Cat 2)	Cat 1	Cat 2		(Cat 1)	(Cat 2)	Cat 1	Cat 2	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
English and Maths	33	36	31	26	24	22	30	17	16	10
English only	21	23	25	42	31	43	48	40	60	63
Maths only	3	9	1	1	3	2	3	2	1	—
	43	33	43	32	41	33	19	42	22	28
All who passed English	54	59	56	67	55	65	78	57	76	73
All who passed Maths	36	45	32	27	27	24	33	19	17	10
Base (all leavers)	*96*	*101*	*96*	*101*	*70*	*60*	*116*	*60*	*116*	*72*

sought work in the same local employment markets. However, we need to remember (as we noted earlier) that although this device enabled us to obtain well-matched sub-samples, we do not know how representative our Category 1 and 2 West Indians may be of their respective groups, throughout the country. This does not detract from their usefulness for the purposes of this study, but it is a point that needs to be emphasised when interpreting the significance of our findings in relation to the *total population* of West Indian school leavers. (This point is dealt with more fully in the Introduction.)

Examination passes in English and Mathematics

As we remarked earlier, in the matching process we were able to take account only of the number and level of the leavers' exam passes: it proved impracticable to cater also for variations in the subject range. In Table 3.3 we have, therefore, summarised their attainments in relations to the two key subjects of English and Mathematics, in terms of whether passes in these subjects were obtained at least at CSE level. It was not worthwhile distinguishing CSE from GCE passes because only eighteen altogether obtained a GCE O level pass in Maths and none had an A level pass in either subject.

As is usually the case, we find that all the groups had a much higher proportion of examination passes in English than in Maths, and there were the usual sex differences in the level of achievement in each subject. In every category, in both ethnic groups, girls surpassed the boys in English, whereas boys excelled in Maths. Surprisingly, there were no consistent ethnic or category differences in relation to English. It was only with Mathematics that clear trends are apparent. The Whites of both sexes did better at Maths than the corresponding groups of Early Migrants, and there was a tendency for West Indians to do less well at this subject the shorter their period of residence in the UK.

Academic potential

Turning now to perhaps the most important of our informant's unmatched educational characteristics – academic potential – Table 3.4 shows the degree of congruence between the assessed potentials of each pair of matched Early Migrant-White leavers. The assessments portrayed in this table were obtained from the teachers before their pupils had sat their final examinations before leaving school. The leavers' actual exam results could not, therefore, have influenced the assessments. The teachers were asked, "*Of what level of academic achievement do you think this pupil is* capable? *Please ring the* . . . highest *level of which you think he/she is capable, whether or not he/she actually intends to sit the examinations mentioned*."*

Table 3.4 shows that 49% (the total on the diagonal) of the pairs of Whites and Early Migrants who had been matched on their educational *attainments*, were also adjudged by their teachers to have similar academic *potentials*. The distribution of the remaining half whose potentials were said to differ, however, shows a marked uneveness. In 119 cases (two thirds) the West Indian was assessed as having a lower academic potential than his or her matched White. Only in 68 cases (one third) was the White assessed as having the lower potential. This is further illustrated by the marginal distributions, which show for instance that whereas 126 (35%) of the Whites were said to have the ability to obtain at least one to three GCE O levels, only 88 (24%) of the West Indians were credited with a potential as high as this.

As the actual educational achievements of the Early Migrants closely correspond with the Whites, but the Early Migrants' capabilities tended to be assessed as *lower*, this must mean that in the teachers' estimation the West Indians' examination performance was more likely to fulfil their academic potential. In Table 3.5 we examine the extent which this was so. We have not distinguished between the sexes, as they were found to have only very minor differences.

Table 3.5 shows that the proportions of leavers whose exam performance fell below their teachers' estimates of their capabilities were 39%, 30% and 23%, for Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively. This implies that not only did West Indians tend to realise their potential more fully at school, than did Whites, but that the shorter the duration of their schooling in Britain the *more* likely they were to do so.

* This question and the accompanying division of examination/educational levels were adopted because of their successful use in previous national studies – see Thomas and Wetherall[1].

Table 3.4 Academic potential of matched pairs

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	None	1–2 CSEs	3 or more CSEs	1–3 O levels	4 or more O levels	1 or more A levels	Totals
None	9% *33*	2% *7*	2% *8*	1% *2*	—	*1*	*51*
1–2 CSEs	3% *10*	8% *29*	7% *26*	2% *6*	0% *1*	0% *1*	*73*
3 or more CSEs	0% *1*	6% *24*	22% *80*	10% *37*	2% *7*	0% *1*	*150*
1–3 O levels	0% *1*	0% *1*	4% *16*	9% *33*	3% *12*	2% *6*	*69*
4 or more O levels	—	—	1% *2*	2% *9*	1% *3*	1% *2*	*16*
1 or more A levels	—	—	—	0% *1*	1% *3*	0% *1*	*5*
Totals	*45*	*61*	*132*	*88*	*26*	*12*	*Base (= 100%) 364*

Nine matched pairs are omitted from the above table. The reasons being that the academic potentials of 5 West Indians, 3 Whites and 1 complete matched pair were not assessed by their teachers. When no information is available for one member of a matched pair there is, of course no point in including either member of the pair in a table of this kind.

Table 3.5 Fulfilment of academic potential

Level of qualifications obtained by the leaver was:	Matched Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Higher than rated academic potential	9	14	13
The same as rated academic potential	51	55	62
Lower than rated academic potential	39	30	23
No information	1	2	2
Base (All leavers)	*373*	*373*	*142*

If correct this would be an unfortunate commentary on the British educational system, as well as being completely inconsistent with the evidence provided by other studies about the academic achievements of pupils of West Indian descent, which point to West Indians being especially prone to under-achieve at school, on all the main indicators of academic performance (see Chapter 1 and also Volume 2, Chapter 13). We must turn, therefore, to the alternative explanation that there was an underlying bias in the teachers' assessments that caused them to tend to underestimate West Indian academic potential.

It should be added that the high proportion of pupils generally who realised or *exceeded* their teachers' estimates of their capabilities suggests that teachers interpreted the question in terms of what qualifications their pupils would achieve, rather than what they *could* achieve. But this does not affect the general conclusion, for whether teachers were thinking of the pupils' *ultimate* potential, or their likely performance in the exams they were about to enter, the fact remains that teachers appear to have been especially prone to underrate the West Indians.

The apparent bias although consistent, is fairly small, but if teachers who naturally knew their pupils very well were particularly prone to underestimate the educational potential of those who were of West Indian origin, this suggests that COs and prospective employers might well have even greater difficulty assessing West Indians abilities.

It is therefore a matter of some interest to us and merits further exploration. First, however, we need to review the data on the leavers' personalities (as perceived by their teachers) and the Careers Officers' assessments of the leavers' general intelligence and oral abilities.

Personality

Rather than administer a personality test directly to each leaver, we asked the teachers' to assess their pupils' personalities. This was partly because unbiased, cross-cultural personality measures are difficult to construct, time-consuming to administer and seldom prove to be very satisfactory; but also because we were especially interested in how the leavers were perceived by their teachers. The teachers were asked to rank each leaver on five, seven-point semantic differential scales which were designed to measure three personality dimensions: 'co-operativeness', 'introversion-extroversion' and 'social maturity'. (For a fuller account of the way this was done and of the origins of the scales used, see Appendix III.) Table 3.6 summarises the results. The data has not been sub-divided by sex as the personality profiles of the boys and girls within each ethnic group were found to be very similar. But, as the table shows, the Early Migrants were assessed as being more extrovert and less co-operative than their White counterparts, whereas Later Migrants were regarded as more similar to Whites with respect to introversion-extroversion and co-operativeness, but less socially mature.

Table 3.6 Personality traits

	Matched Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
Co-operativeness	%	%	%
Highly co-operative	64	54	59
Relatively co-operative	22	23	25
Unco-operative	12	22	14
No information	1	1	1
Extroversion/Introversion			
Extrovert	21	32	28
Neutral	48	48	39
Introvert	29	18	31
No information	1	2	1
Social maturity			
Highly mature	32	36	33
Relatively mature	49	44	35
Immature	18	18	30
No information	1	2	1
Base (All leavers)	*373*	*373*	*142*

Intelligence

The COs were asked to give their personal impressions of the leavers' general intelligence and also to rate their clients' oral abilities under three headings: clarity of diction, oral expression and oral comprehension (see Qns. 12–15, Youth Employment Service Questionnaire, Appendix V). The purpose (as with the teachers' personality assessments) was to gauge how the leavers were perceived by others. As will be shown later, the CO's general impressions of the leavers have proved most useful in helping to explain divergences in their assessments of their clients' job suitability (see Chapter 5). It was with this aim in mind that we asked the COs, rather than the teachers, to make the assessments; as their opinions were probably a better guide to how prospective employers might view the leavers when they applied for jobs. We had hoped also to administer intelligence tests to the leavers, but unfortunately this proved to be impracticable (see Chapter 12).

The CO was asked to rate the leaver's intelligence from his/her school reports and from the impression he/she gave at the interview, indicating whether the leaver was 'above average', 'average' or 'below average' for a child of this age. It was found that within each ethnic group, the ratings given to boys and girls of the same level of educational attainment were very similar. But there were marked differences in the way that the COs assessed the abilities of Whites and West Indians.

Table 3.7 compares the intelligence ratings given to the matched pairs. The table shows that 46% of the pairs were given similar ratings, but where the ratings differed in three cases out of four (39% compared to 14%) the West Indian was assessed as having a lower intelligence than the White who was of similar age, sex and education. Table 3.8 gives the overall ratings for each group of leavers, with respect to their general intelligence, clarity of diction, oral expression and oral comprehension, and also compares the differences at each educational level. This demonstrates that whereas the Whites' intelligence ratings have a 'normal' distribution, the West Indians' (especially the Later Migrants') are disproportionately concentrated toward the lower end of the scale: the proportions in each group said to be of 'below average' intelligence being 25%, 41% and 60%, for Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively. The further sub-division by educational level illustrates, as one would expect, that there was generally a strong positive correlation between educational attainment and perceived intelligence. The table also shows that the tendency for COs to assess the intelligence of West Indians as being lower than that of Whites with a similar level of educational attainment occurred in all three educational strata.

Table 3.7 Intelligence of matched pairs

Early Migrants	Matched Whites: Above average	Matched Whites: Average	Matched Whites: Below average	Totals
Above average	6% *20*	5% *16*	2% *5*	*41*
Average	15% *48*	24% *79*	7% *24*	*151*
Below average	6% *21*	18% *60*	16% *53*	*134*
				Base (= 100%)
Totals	*89*	*155*	*82*	*326*

Oral abilities and accents

The oral characteristics of leavers were not generally recorded in the form we wanted, in the Careers Service Offices. Consequently, when the officer who had interviewed the leaver was unavailable and another officer had to provide us with our information from the leaver's case file, the CO was generally unable to answer our questions on this topic. In other instances we were unable to obtain any information about leavers because of difficulties in contacting COs, or because the leavers' records were not available, etc. Consequently, we were able to collect information about the oral characteristics of only about 80% of our samples. However, there is no reason to question the representativeness of the data, as the causes of our inability to collect the information for the remaining 20% were in no way connected with the personal characteristics of the leavers.

We again found that within each ethnic group there were no significant differences between the COs' ratings of similarly educated boys and girls but that, as Table 3.8 shows, West Indians were assessed as having lower levels of oral ability, relative to their education. The divergences between the Whites and the two West Indian groups, in fact, broadly replicate the COs' impressions of the leavers' intelligence. As with their intelligence ratings, in all three educational strata, the Later Migrants' oral ability assessments were especially low. Again, as with intelligence, the smallest divergences between the oral ability assessments of the Early Migrants and their matched Whites, occurred in the top educational stratum. Taking all three oral abilities together, overall, we find that 38% to 46% of the Later Migrants were said to be below average, compared to 17% to 30% of the Early Migrants and 6% to 16% of the Whites.

Careers Officers were also asked if the Early and Later Migrants possessed a 'West Indian' accent, and if so, whether it was sufficiently strong to make it difficult sometimes for non-West Indians to understand what they said. The proportions reported to have accents were 40%, 57% and 69% for Categories 1, 2 and 3, respectively. Relatively few spoke in a manner that

Table 3.8 Intelligence and oral abilities, by leaver's educational level

Careers Officer's assessment of:	Educational level*											
	All levels			Low			Medium			High		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Clarity of diction												
Above average	16	11	9	9	6	7	21	8	15	22	27	4
Average	74	71	50	79	67	36	70	79	47	74	65	80
Below average	9	18	41	12	28	58	9	13	38	3	8	16
Oral expression												
Above average	20	18	9	9	9	8	25	18	6	33	34	17
Average	64	52	44	66	44	30	62	62	56	64	52	56
Below average	16	30	46	25	46	62	13	21	39	3	13	26
Oral comprehension												
Above average	24	15	15	12	6	15	30	12	14	36	35	18
Average	70	68	46	77	63	30	66	78	58	64	60	59
Below average	6	17	38	11	30	54	4	10	28	—	4	23
Intelligence												
Above average	26	13	6	9	3	2	36	12	5	38	34	14
Average	49	46	35	47	30	17	50	61	43	54	50	57
Below average	25	41	60	43	67	81	13	27	52	8	16	28
Bases† *Oral abilities*	*298*	*309*	*103*	*122*	*124*	*45*	*110*	*117*	*35*	*66*	*68*	*23*
Intelligence	*343*	*357*	*124*	*139*	*146*	*54*	*126*	*134*	*42*	*78*	*77*	*28*
Proportion said (by COs) to possess a 'West Indian' accent		50%	69%		57%	78%		47%	60%		39%	75%

* *See note to Table 3.2*
† *Both Tables 3.7 and 3.8 exclude leavers for whom we were unable to collect the relevant information because the COs we wished to interview, or the leavers' records, were unavailable at the time. The bases for the oral ability ratings in Table 3.8 are further reduced because of difficulties in getting the information when the officer who acted as informant had not interviewed the leaver personally (see commentary on page 21).*

might cause others to have difficulty understanding them: 5% of the Early Migrants and 20% of Later Migrants. It is odd, however, to find that though 31% of the Later Migrants were thought not to have any accent at all, 20% of them were said to have an intonation that was so strong that it could lead to difficulties in communication. The reason for this seeming inconsistency is that the speech characteristics of West Indians appear to have been the product of a variety of influences. Obviously, the length of time someone had been in this country had a considerable influence, although the fact that 40% of Category 1 West Indians (who had lived here since their infancy) were still reported to speak with an accent, again shows that length of residence in Britain was of itself an insufficient explanation. Island of origin was found to be important to the extent that Jamaicans were more likely to be said to have accented speech. Thus, amongst the Jamaican-born, 57% of the Early Migrants and 71% of the Later Migrants were recorded as having accents, compared with 44% and 61%, respectively, of those who came from other islands. In addition, the possession of an accent was associated with educational level. Table 3.8 shows that the proportion of Early Migrants attributed with accents fell as their educational standards rose from 57% in the bottom educational stratum to 39% in the top stratum. Amongst Later Migrants, however, the association between accents and education was less consistent.

Inter-connections between education, oral ability and perceived intelligence

Thus far, we have considered the individual ratings separately, in relation to ethnicity. Presently, we shall also discuss the influence of social class – after reviewing the occupational backgrounds of the leavers' families. First, however, we need to examine how the various assessments by the teachers and COs inter-related. This will help to explain the background to some of the ratings and also show how far there was a convergence of outlook between teachers and COs. The main associations fall into three groups: first those that correlated strongly with educational attainment; then the connections between the CO's perception of the leaver's intelligence and the leaver's oral abilities/accents; and finally the divergences associated with personality differences.

The obviously strong association between educational attainment and academic potential has already been noted earlier. Table 3.8 showed how the COs' assessments of intelligence and oral ability also reflected the educational differences between their clients, but that the West Indians tended to be attributed with lesser ability than Whites with similar educational attainments. As other research points consistently to West Indians tending to under-achieve at school,* the propensity of COs to give West Indians lower intelligence ratings than similarly educated White leavers implies (like the corresponding bias in teachers' assessments of academic potential) that COs were prone to underestimate the West Indians' abilities. Although COs usually had various background information on their clients furnished by schools, their personal impressions of the leavers were gained through interviewing them in the course of giving careers advice and assisting them to get jobs. It is of particular interest, therefore, to see to what extent the COs' opinions of their clients oral abilities match with their assessments of the leavers' intelligence.

Table 3.9 shows, in relation to Whites and both groups of West Indians, that there was a strong correspondence between perceived intelligence and oral ability, and that the tendency for the intelligence assessments of West Indians to be incommensurate with their educational attainments was reflected again in their oral ability ratings. The table shows that Whites and West Indians who were assessed as being of above average intelligence were given similar ratings for their oral clarity and expression. This was also generally true of those who were rated as having an average intelligence. The oral comprehension ratings were less consistent; whereas Early Migrants with above average intelligence had a lower rating than the Whites, Later Migrants said to have an average intelligence were given a higher rating. But it is in relation to leavers who were assessed as being the least intelligent where the divergence in the oral ability ratings of Whites and West Indians, relative to their educational attainments, was most marked. Thus, the table shows that although in this bottom intelligence stratum the West Indians were slightly better qualified than the Whites, the West Indians were given considerably lower ratings on all three oral abilities; this being especially so for Later Migrants.

Difficulties in communication

A possible explanation for these ethnic differences in oral ability ratings is contained in the figures given at the foot of Table 3.9 which show the proportions said to have a 'West Indian' accent. They indicate that the West Indians who were assessed as below average in intelligence, in addition to being less well qualified, were also more likely to be said to have an accent. In Table 3.10 we have therefore examined the interconnections between the possession of an accent, oral ability and intelligence, this time taking the strength of the accent also into account. The analysis is complicated by the tendency for West Indians who were said to have accents to have a lower standard of education than those whose speech was more anglicised. To overcome this difficulty we have included the ratings given to the corresponding groups of matched Whites, thereby enabling us to measure the variations in the ratings associated with educational differences, independently from those connected with ethnicity and the posssession of accents.

The table shows that most of the ethnic variance in the assessments of clarity of diction and oral expression occurred in relation to West Indians with accented speech. The ratings given to the matched Whites and to both groups of West Indians who spoke without accents were relatively close (the Later Migrants being credited, in fact, with slightly better diction than the Whites), but the ratings given to West Indians who had accents were much lower than those of Whites of a similar educational level. Thus, whereas only 9% of the Whites were said to have below average diction, and 22% below average oral expression, the corresponding proportions amongst the Early Migrants with accented speech were 28% and 43%; whilst for the Later Migrants the proportions said to be below average were as much as 53% and 58%.

However, in relation to the oral comprehension and general intelligence assessments the situation was very different. If the ratings of the Early Migrants with and without accents are compared to those of the corresponding groups of matched Whites, it will be seen that in this case the ethnic disparity in the ratings was relatively unaffected by whether or not the West Indians spoke with accents. The data for the Later Migrants is less consistent in that (as with their other oral abilities) the oral comprehension ratings of Later Migrants without accents compared very favourably with those given to the corresponding group of Whites, whereas regardless of whether they spoke with accents, the Later Migrants' general intelligence, like that of the Early Migrants, tended invariably to be assessed as inferior to that of Whites of a similar educational level. The oral comprehension and intelligence of the Later Migrants with accents, like their diction and oral expression, tended to be graded as very poor.

The table also shows that 28% of the Later Migrants with accented speech were said to speak so that a non-West Indian might sometimes have difficulty understanding them, whereas this was said of only 10% of the equivalent Early Migrants. This, of course, is as one would expect given the different lengths of time the two groups of West Indians had lived in Britain. It also implies, as do their especially poor oral ability ratings, that problems in communication were a major factor leading COs to tend to attribute the Later Migrants with a particularly low intelligence. The data also clearly demonstrates, however, that such difficulties are an insufficient explanation for why COs tended invariably to underrate the intelligence of West Indians.

* For further discussion of this point see Chapter 12.

Table 3.9 Education and oral abilities by intelligence

Careers Officer's assessment of:	Careers Officer's intelligence rating of leaver							
	Above average		Average			Below average		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Clarity of Diction								
Above average	37	33	12	11	11	3	5	3
Average	56	64	82	82	75	78	61	35
Below average	7	3	5	6	14	19	34	61
Oral expression								
Above average	48	46	15	22	19	1	5	—
Average	45	49	77	67	64	58	37	33
Below average	8	5	8	10	17	41	58	67
Oral comprehension								
Above average	61	49	14	16	28	3	3	3
Average	38	50	83	82	63	79	57	37
Below average	1	—	2	2	9	18	40	60
Educational level								
High	39	56	16	23	37	5	8	11
Medium	49	35	50	50	42	23	25	30
Low	11	9	33	27	21	72	67	59
Base†	*78*	*38*	*141*	*143*	*36*	*70*	*128*	*63*
Proportion said (by COs) to possess a 'West Indian' accent		40%		48%	61%		58%	.79%

† *All leavers rated as having stated level of intelligence for whom we also have information about their oral abilities (see commentary on page 21).*
Note: As only 4 Later Migrants for whom we had oral ability ratings were rated as above average in intelligence these have been omitted.

Table 3.10 Education, oral abilities and intelligence, by the possession of a 'West Indian' accent

Careers Officer's assessment of:	West Indian said by Careers Officers to be:					
	Without accent			With accent		
	(Matched Whites)	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	(Matched Whites)	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Clarity of diction						
Above average	(19)	16	24	(16)	6	3
Average	(74)	77	72	(74)	66	44
Below average	(7)	7	4	(9)	28	53
Oral expression						
Above average	(22)	19	20	(20)	14	6
Average	(66)	62	68	(59)	43	36
Below average	(12)	19	12	(22)	43	58
Oral comprehension						
Above average	(27)	15	36	(22)	15	10
Average	(70)	72	52	(70)	62	41
Below average	(3)	13	12	(7)	23	49
Intelligence						
Above average	(29)	15	14	(23)	10	3
Average	(48)	50	45	(46)	41	31
Below average	(23)	35	41	(31)	49	66
Educational level						
High	26		20	16		18
Medium	39		50	35		34
Low	36		30	49		48
Base†	*137*		*30*	*135*		*68*
Proportions whose accents were said (by COs) to be sufficiently strong to make it difficult sometimes for a non-West Indian to understand them				—	10%	28%

† *All West Indians for whom it was possible to collect information about their oral abilities* and *possession of an accent; and their white matches.*

Although it was only when West Indians spoke with an accent that their oral abilities were regarded as being much inferior to Whites', and although very strong accents were also associated with particularly low general intelligence ratings, *even when West Indians were said to speak without any noticeable accent they still tended to be perceived as being less intelligent than Whites with similar educational attainments.*

The effects of personality differences

It was noted earlier that West Indians and Whites tended to be attributed with different personality profiles. We thought it would be interesting therefore to investigate whether there was any apparent association between the teachers' perception of their pupils' personality traits and the teachers' and COs' perceptions of the leavers' abilities. The only personality trait found to have any marked associations was 'social maturity'. The pupils whom their teachers rated as more socially mature were more likely to be considered to have further academic potential, and to be given better ratings on intelligence and oral skills by COs. This is explained by the fact that the people whom teachers reckoned to be more socially mature tended to be better educated. It did not account in any way for the differences in the ability ratings of Whites and Early Migrants (as both groups were regarded as equally mature) but as Later Migrants were rated as notably less mature than the other two groups of leavers (through all three groups were of a similar educational level) it is possible that a further reason that Later Migrants tended to be considered as less able was that they often gave the impression of being somewhat immature, compared to Whites and Early Migrants with similar educational attainments.

Other links between the teachers' and Careers Officers' assessments of ability

As our analysis of the COs' assessments suggests that their judgement of the leavers' intelligence was much influenced by the leavers' oral abilities, we endeavoured to ascertain whether the West Indians' lower oral ability ratings might also explain why teachers were prone to underestimate their West Indian pupils' academic potential. However, after controlling for age, sex and education, we found no evidence to suggest that this was so.

It must be concluded, therefore, that although both teachers and COs were prone to underrate the abilities of West Indians, so far as we are able to determine it was generally for different reasons. The only factor to emerge as a possible common influence being the tendency for Later Migrants to give the impression of being less mature.

The COs had access to school reports on their clients which gave details of their education and a varying amount of other information, often including intelligence ratings. The school reports might well have influenced the COs – that was, after all, what they were intended to do. Indeed, when we asked the CO to assess his client's intelligence, he was requested specifically to rate the leaver 'from his/her school report (as well as) from the impression he/she gave at the interview(s)'. The high degree of congruence between the COs' assessments of their clients' oral ability and intelligence leaves little doubt, however, that the COs were also greatly influenced in their judgements of their clients' general ability by the impression they formed of the leavers during interviews.

Teachers had the advantage of a longer and closer acquaintance with their pupils on which to base their judgements. This could account, at least in part, for why the teachers' bias was much less pronounced. Moreover, teachers were asked to rate their pupils' academic potential in terms of their capacity to pass written examinations. The bias in the teachers' assessments related, therefore, to their pupils' *written* work. If the West Indians did tend to be less able to express themselves coherently (to a non-West Indian ear), as compared to Whites with a similar level of academic aptitude, this could also help to explain why the COs' and teachers' assessments were at variance.

Thus, to summarise, we find that the COs' tendency to underrate the West Indians' intelligence appeared to be attributable to the West Indians' making a less favourable impression during interviews – this being especially the case if (as with many Later Migrants) they had strong accents, and when they had a low standard of education. But (except for the tendency for Later Migrants to seem less socially mature) no explanation can be offered for the teachers' propensity to underrate the West Indians' academic potential.

Family occupational background

So far, we have examined only the leavers' personal characteristics. That is, their educational achievements before leaving school, and the teachers' and Careers Officers' assessments of their academic potential, intelligence, personality and oral ability. To complete the description of the leavers' general characteristics before they started work we need now to look at their family backgrounds. For this purpose, information was collected on the parents' occupations, net income and education.

Throughout the report collapsed social class and industrial classifications are used for the analysis of all employment data, but the OPCS Socio-Economic Group classification is used in its full original version. The standard Social Class classification has been compressed into three 'Occupational Groups': upper non-manual, skilled manual, and lower manual/non-manual. The OPCS 28-part industrial classification has been reduced to six broad categories: Manufacturing, Construction, Service industries, Distribution, Administration and finance, and Professional and scientific services. Details of how the original categories of the full classification were combined in each instance are given in Appendix III, where will be found also a full discussion of the uses of all the occupational classifica-

tions and indices used in the report and how they interrelate. It is sufficient here to explain that the modest sizes of our samples did not justify the full 28-fold industrial classification, and that the Social Class classification, although only requiring a seven-fold subdivision of the sample, did not meet some of our needs. As an alternative for assessing the 'social status' of occupations, we have chosen the Goldthorpe-Hope system, as it is meant to be a more refined measure of this aspect of work. Instead of using the Social Class classification for this purpose we have utilised it as a means of deriving a broad grouping of occupations, in terms of the nature and level of qualifications and previous work experience required to enter them. These Occupational Groups may be thought of as representing distinct 'career paths', in the sense that once an individual has worked for several years in one of them he or she is unlikely to move into a job in an alternative group, because to do so would require a different type or level of qualifications or experience from that which was required for, or acquired from, the person's previous employment. The three-part Occupational Group classification also has the incidental advantage over the Social Class or SEG classifications, that because it distributes the samples more evenly between a smaller number of categories, it facilitates further cross-tabulation by other variables – such as by sex and area – when, as in the present study, sample sizes are relatively small. The relationships between the three Occupational Groups, and in particular, the circumstances in which movement between them is most likely to occur, are discussed in more detail in Appendix III.

In the following analysis of the occupational grouping of the jobs of other members of the leavers' families, we will be concerned only with making a straightforward comparison of the employment backgrounds of the families of the West Indians and the Whites. The differences that emerge are likely to have relevance to the leavers' own choices of occupation, to the parents' attitudes to work, and to the advice parents gave to their children about employment. These further issues will be taken up later in the report. Moreover, as family occupational backgrounds are also an indicator of 'social class' differences, this data will feature again in the next section of this chapter when we attempt to unravel some of the reasons for the differences in our leavers' personal characteristics, as perceived by their teachers and the Careers Officers.

The occupational grouping and industrial distribution of the fathers' employment, at the time of the first interview, shows that there were marked differences in the general standard of the jobs held by the three groups (see Table 3.11). Although the proportions of White and Early Migrants' fathers in skilled manual work were fairly similar, the Whites were much more likely to have higher non-manual jobs (19% compared to 4% of the Early Migrants' fathers), whereas the fathers of the Early Migrants were more often in lower grade manual/non-manual employment (37% compared to 27% of the Whites). The differences in the

Table 3.11 Father's present or last job by occupational group and industry

Father's present or last job	Matched Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Occupational group			
Upper non-manual	19	4	3
Skilled Manual	52	56	41
Lower manual and non-manual	27	37	53
Inadequately described	1	4	4
No information about employment	1	—	—
Industry			
Manufacturing	48	47	57
Construction	12	13	12
Service industries	16	27	14
Distributive trades	11	3	3
Administration and finance	6	2	2
Professional and scientific services	3	1	2
Inadequately described	2	6	10
No information about employment	1	0	—
Base (fathers in full time employment)	*326*	*280*	*112*

The number of fathers in each group in the above table is less than the corresponding number of leavers because there were no fathers present in 9% of the White households or in 14%–15% of the West Indian. Also a few of the fathers had now retired from full-time employment.

industrial distribution of the two groups were less pronounced, the main divergences being that a greater proportion of the Early Migrants' fathers worked in Service Industries and relatively fewer were in the Distributive Trades.

It is the jobs of the Later Migrants' fathers, however, which differed the most. Once again, we find that very few (3%) had upper non-manual jobs, and *more than half* (53%) were in lower manual/non-manual occupations. Also a greater proportion of the Later Migrants' fathers were in Manufacturing and a lesser proportion in Service Industries, as compared with the other group of West Indian fathers.

The variation in the proportions of the two groups of West Indian fathers who were in low status occupations probably results from the difference in the length of time they had spent in Britain. We did not ask the West Indian parents to tell us when they first came to this country, but there is little doubt that the Later Migrants' parents had been here, on average, for a shorter time than the other group. The Early Migrants' parents tended to be older, and also, in order to be the natural parent of a Category 1 leaver who was born in the UK, the person would need to have been here since the early fifties. At the other extreme, a Category 3 leaver's parents might only have arrived in Britain, together with their child, a short time previously, in the mid to late sixties. As the sampled child might not be their eldest, and many children were brought to Britain later to join their parents after they had settled-in, it is not possible to make a direct inference about the parents' length of residence from the length of time the child had been in Britain. Nevertheless, there is likely to be a strong overall association between the two. The Early Migrants' fathers, therefore, were likely to have come to this country at an earlier date and had longer to find better jobs for themselves, which would explain why a smaller proportion were in low status occupa-

tions. It is also possible, of course, that the vocational qualifications of the earlier wave of immigrants were superior to those possessed by the people who followed them, but our information about the formal educational qualifications of the two groups does not support this alternative explanation.

The data on the fathers' occupations deals only with those who were in full-time employment. This is because in over 80% of the families, in all three groups, the fathers were currently, or had recently been, in full-time work; in the remaining families there was either no father in residence, or he had now retired from full-time employment – see note to Table 3.11. For the women, however, part-time employment was naturally an important feature. Consequently, when dealing with the mothers' employment (Table 3.12) we have also included details of those who were part-timers – although we have only shown the occupational groups of those who were working full-time because part-time work tends to be available in only limited spheres of employment and is consequently not as good an indicator of family occupational backgrounds.

As is to be expected, very few of the mothers were to be found in full-time skilled manual occupations, unlike their husbands, and in all three of the women's groups relatively more had upper non-manual occupations, such as nursing and office work. Otherwise, the differences in the general standard of the women's employment were much as we found amongst the men's: the proportion of the Whites' and the Early and Later Migrants' mothers who were in full-time lower manual/non-manual employment being 9%, 28% and 53%, respectively.

Table 3.12 Mother's employment status, occupation and industry

	Mothers of:					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	%		%		%	
Occupational Group						
In full-time employment in:						
Upper non-manual occupations	12		10		10	
Skilled manual occupations	2		3		4	
Lower manual and non-manual occupations	9	23	28	43	53	68
Insufficient information to classify	—		2		1	
In part-time employment only	35		22		17	
Not in any kind of paid work	38		24		11	
No mother in household	2		2		1	
No information about employment	3		9		4	
Base (total number of families)	*373*		*373*		*142*	
Industry (if in full-time employment)						
Manufacturing	37		48		43	
Construction	—		1		1	
Service industries	22		15		9	
Distributive trades	13		4		3	
Administration and finance	13		—		1	
Professional and scientific services	13		27		41	
Inadequately described	1		4		3	
Base (mothers in full time employment)	*87*		*154*		*93*	

The industrial distribution of the mothers' full-time jobs (Table 3.12) shows that a larger proportion of the white mothers were employed in service industries, the distributive trades and administration and finance, whereas the West Indians were more likely to be in manufacturing and (particularly in the case of the Later Migrants' mothers) in professional and scientific services – the latter being a reflection of the propensity of West Indian women to enter nursing and other paramedical occupations.

The data also show very marked disparities in the mothers' propensity to be in paid employment, and as with their occupational characteristics, we find the position of the Early Migrants' mothers lies mid-way between the White and Later Migrant groups. Thus, a third of the white mothers and a quarter of the Early Migrants' did not have a paid job of any kind, but only one in ten of the Later Migrants' mothers was jobless. In addition, not only were the latter the most likely to go out to work, but also 80% of those who were employed had full-time jobs, compared to 66% and 40%, respectively, of the working mothers of the Early Migrants and Whites.

The divergences in behaviour between the White and West Indian mothers, and between the mothers of the Early and Later Migrants, are no doubt in part a reflection of the variations in the pressures upon them to supplement their family incomes. The West Indians, especially if they came to Britain fairly recently, had the added spur to earn as much as they could to enable them to acquire the numerous and expensive chattels, and accommodation, required for living in Britain. An interesting illustration of this, is that we found both groups of West Indian parents were twice as likely as the Whites, to be purchasing their homes on a mortgage: two thirds as compared with one third. The difference in the industriousness of the Early and Later Migrants' mothers is probably connected with the length of their domicile in Britain. Having had longer to establish themselves here the Early Migrants' mothers were no doubt feeling under less pressure to continue working. The reasons they persisted nevertheless in going out to work more frequently than Whites are probably in part cultural, but the lower incomes of their husbands (see below) are also likely to have been a further factor. It is also noteworthy that there was a general tendency for part-time employment to increase as full-time employment decreased, but that despite the large differences between the three groups in their propensity to engage in paid employment, the proportions who had full-time jobs in the better types of occupation (that is, upper non-manual and skilled manual) were very similar. This suggests that it was the less attractive full-time jobs that were the first to be relinquished in favour of part-time work.

Parental income

Table 3.13 demonstrates that the main divergence in pay was between Whites and West Indians – the Whites tending to have higher pay because relatively more of

Table 3.13 Incomes of parents in full-time employment

Weekly income*	Fathers			Mothers		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to £15	2	3	3	51	59	56
£16–£20	13	17	20	25	28	33
£21–£25	24	27	27	14	8	7
£26–£30	28	32	32	6	4	2
Over £30	33	22	18	4	—	1
Base† *(all parents in full-time employment who gave information about their incomes)*	*292*	*241*	*82*	*79*	*141*	*92*

* *Incomes are after tax, national insurance and other compulsory deductions, but* including *overtime, bonuses, family allowances, pensions and unearned income. Any family allowances were added to the mother's income: the rates payable at the time of interview being 90p for the second and £1 for each subsequent child and nothing for the first.*

† *The table excludes a small proportion of households where no parental interview was obtained, and others where the interviewee did not know his/her spouse's income, or declined to give any information about family income.*

them were in higher non-manual occupations. The differences between the parents of Early and Later Migrants were very marginal – both the fathers and the mothers of Later Migrants tending to earn slightly less than their counterparts in the other group.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the income data is the variation in the contribution to household income made by the mothers in each of the groups, as illustrated in Table 3.14. Although the white mothers had the most well paid full-time jobs, this was heavily outweighed by the differences in the propensity of each group to take paid employment (see Table 3.12). Thus, for instance, the proportions with incomes of £11 or more were 30%, 55% and 73% for the mothers of Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively, whilst the corresponding proportions at the other end of the scale, who had no income in their own right, were 21%, 8% and 6%.

The large number, especially of the white mothers, with extremely low incomes, is the result not only of poorly paid part-time work, but also because the lowest income category includes non-working women whose only source of income in their own right was from family allowances (see footnote to Table 3.13). This is also the reason that the proportions of non-working mothers in Table 3.12 is appreciably greater than those said to have no income, in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14 Contributions of mothers to household income

Mother's weekly income	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Up to £5	23	13	7
£6–£10	24	21	12
£11–£15	15	30	43
£16–£20	8	18	23
Over £20	7	7	7
No mother	2	3	2
No income	21	8	6
Base (all households giving information about income)	*341*	*299*	*121*

Parental educational qualifications

The great majority of the parents in all three groups had finished their education by sixteen years of age and very few had any formal educational qualifications. Approximately 10% of all the fathers had completed an apprenticeship. The main differences were that the West Indians mothers were more likely to have a nursing qualification, than were the Whites, and that 10% of the white fathers had educational qualifications at OND/GCE O level, or above, compared with 2% to 4% of the West Indians.

The influence of social class

There is a long-established association between social class and educational attainment. So, as the occupations of the leavers' parents differed quite a lot, it is necessary to check whether social class differences were responsible for any of the variation in the characteristics of the West Indian and white leavers, and in the assessments of their capabilities.

The father's occupation is the indicator most commonly used to measure the social class of the family. A check was made to see whether using the mother's occupation (if she had a full-time job), when there was no father in employment in the household, produced similar results. No marked differences were found and therefore we have confined our analysis here to the leavers for whom we have information about the father's occupation.

The Occupational Group classification was found to be the best discriminator, but the only marked divergences found were between leavers whose fathers were in higher non-manual occupations, as compared with those in manual or lower non-manual employment – a distinction that broadly corresponds with the classic division between 'white collar' and 'blue collar' jobs.

In both ethnic groups there were some very slight variations in the characteristics of children with skilled manual and lower manual/non-manual fathers, and where they did occasionally occur they were consistently in the same direction – that is the leavers with fathers

in skilled manual jobs tended to be rated as having slightly higher ability. It was only as between those with higher non-manual backgrounds and the rest, however, that a clear pattern of marked differences was discernible. For our present purposes, therefore, we have combined the skilled manual and lower manual/non-manual groups. Furthermore, as only a negligible proportion of the fathers of both the Early and Later Migrants had jobs in higher non-manual occupations, the only inter-ethnic comparison that is feasible is between leavers with manual and lower non-manual backgrounds.

It should also be borne in mind that our samples of white leavers have a very limited range of educational achievement, because of their manner of selection. They are, therefore, relative under-achievers and may, in consequence, be atypical in their personal characteristics, particularly those who are from higher non-manual families. But we have no reason to question their representativeness *so far as children of this level of educational attainment are concerned*. For our purposes, therefore, the comparisons are valid. Nevertheless, this is an instance of the ways in which our samples may be unrepresentative of white leavers in general, and why we earlier drew attention to the need to be cautious about generalising our findings to all white leavers.

Tables 3.15 and 3.16 illustrate the relationship between social class and some of the personal characteristics of the white leavers. The tables show that the white leavers whose fathers were in upper non-manual employment were better qualified and more likely to have been assessed as having further academic potential. They were also given markedly higher ratings by Careers Officers, on intelligence and on all three oral

Table 3.15 Whites' educational attainments and academic potential, by social class

	Father's occupational group	
	Higher non-manual	Manual and lower non-manual
	%	%
Exams passed		
Nil	18	25
1–2 CSEs	16	9
3+ CSEs	39	46
1–3 O levels	24	18
4+ O levels	3	2
1+ A levels	—	—
Academic potential		
Nil	2	12
1–2 CSEs	11	17
3+ CSEs	36	37
1–3 O levels	34	22
4+ O levels	13	6
1+ A levels	3	4
No information	2	1
Fulfilment of academic potential		
Better than expected	5	10
Same as expected	39	52
Worse than expected	55	38
No information	2	1
Base (all where fathers occupation group known)	*62*	*258*

Table 3.16 Whites' intelligence and oral abilities, by social class

	Father's occupational	
	Higher non-manual	Manual and lower non-manual
Clarity of diction	%	%
Above average	24	15
Average	70	76
Below average	7	8
Oral comprehension		
Above average	34	23
Average	64	72
Below average	2	5
Oral expression		
Above average	30	20
Average	58	66
Below average	12	14
General intelligence		
Above average	27	27
Average	64	44
Below average	9	25
Don't know	—	3
Bases (all whose father's occupation group was known and for whom information was available from Careers Officers)		
Clarity of diction, oral comprehension and expression	*49*	*202*
General intelligence	*56*	*236*

abilities. Tables 3.17 and 3.18 demonstrate, however, that despite the divergence in the characteristics of the children of higher non-manual fathers and the others, in the Whites sample, we find that when age, sex and educational attainments are taken into account, *that controlling for family occupational background has a negligible effect on the variations associated with ethnicity*.

It should perhaps be added, however, that it is reasonable to suppose that if the West Indian fathers had had an occupational distribution similar to the Whites', the

Table 3.17 Fulfilment of academic potential of matched pairs, both of whose fathers were in manual/lower non-manual occupations compared with all matched pairs (in brackets)

West Indians whose exam passes were:	Whites whose exam passes were: Better than . . .	The same as . . .	Below	Totals
	. . . their academic potential			
Better than . . .	2% (4%)	8% (6%)	3% (4%)	*23 (49)*
The same as . . .	4% (4%)	36% (34%)	18% (18%)	*97 (203)*
Below . .	3% (2%)	9% (11%)	18% (17%)	*49 (112)*
. . . their academic potential	*13*	*90*	*66*	*Base (= 100%)*
Totals	*(33)*	*(187)*	*(144)*	*(364) 169*

NB See note to Table 3.4

Table 3.18 Intelligence of matched pairs both of whose fathers were in manual/lower non-manual occupations compared with all matched pairs (in brackets)

West Indians whose intelligence assessed as:	Whites whose intelligence assessed as: Above average	Average	Below average	Totals
Above average	7% (6%)	5% (5%)	1% (2%)	20 (41)
Average	19% (15%)	24% (24%)	7% (7%)	76 (151)
Below average	5% (6%)	16% (18%)	16% (16%)	56 (134)
	48	69	35	Base (= 100%)
Totals	(89)	(155)	(82)	(326) 152

same differences associated with social class would be found amongst their children as amongst the white children. Consequently, although ethnically related factors appear to be entirely responsible for the abilities of West Indians being lowly rated, relative to those of Whites with similar educational attainments, there is little doubt that the West Indian leavers were further handicapped by coming almost exclusively from manual or lower non-manual families.

Summary

The educational level of all the leavers was relatively low; three quarters having only CSE passes at grades 2 to 5. Attainments in English and Mathematics followed a familiar pattern. All categories of leaver, both boys and girls, had more passes at CSE or GCE O level in English, than in Maths – girls performing especially well in English, whereas boys did better at Maths. Surprisingly perhaps, there were no consistent ethnic differences in relation to examination passes in English, but West Indians of all categories and both sexes were less successful than Whites at Maths, although there was a tendency for the West Indians' standard of performance in Maths to improve, the longer the period of residence in Britain.

The teachers' assessments of the leavers' academic potential showed that teachers were inclined to underestimate the capabilities of West Indians, especially those who had come to Britain recently. The Careers Officers' perception of the leavers' general intelligence displayed an even stronger bias. Amongst both Whites and West Indians, perceived intelligence was highly correlated with educational attainment, but West Indians (especially the Later Migrants) tended to be given lower intelligence ratings than Whites with a similar level of education. As other research strongly suggests that West Indians tend to *under-achieve* at school, the propensity of both COs and teachers to give West Indians lower ability ratings relative to their educational achievements leaves little doubt that the assessments were affected by an ethnocentric bias.

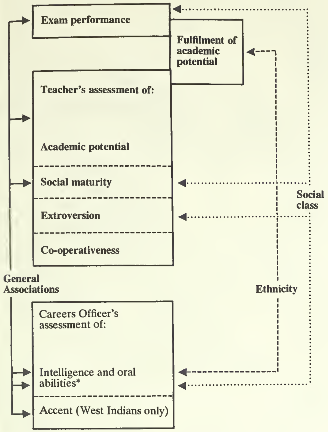
Difficulties in communication during interviews appear to have been partly responsible for the bias in the COs' assessments. When West Indians had strong accents, as was often the case with more recent immigrants, the leavers were especially liable to have their oral abilities assessed as being very low and their intelligence as being below average. But even when the West Indians spoke in a very anglicised manner, the COs still tended to form a less favourable impression of the West Indians than they did of Whites with similar educational attainments. There was also some evidence that a further reason that Later Migrants were thought to be less capable, by both teachers and COs, was that Later Migrants often gave the impression of being less socially mature than Early Migrants or Whites.

Predictably, an analysis of family occupational backgrounds revealed large social class differences between white and West Indian leavers. A fifth of the Whites, but only a negligible proportion of the West Indians, came from families where the father had an upper non-manual job. The fathers of West Indians were more likely to have low grade manual or non-manual occupations: 37% of the Early Migrants' fathers and 53% of the Later Migrants', compared to only 27% of the Whites' fathers. The mothers' occupations displayed similar variations. There was, in addition, a pronounced difference in the mothers' propensity to take paid employment. Nearly nine out of ten of the Later Migrants' mothers had jobs and most of these were full-time, in contrast to the Whites of whom one third did not have a paid job and of those who did only 40% worked full time. The behaviour of the Early Migrants' mothers fell mid-way between the Whites' and Later Migrants'.

The general tendency for West Indian women to go out to work more frequently than Whites is probably in part a cultural trait which, as will be observed later, was also reflected in the attitudes of their daughters (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 11). However, the lower earning capacity of their husbands and the expenses associated with settling in Britain undoubtedly put additional pressures on them to supplement their family incomes. Such pressures are naturally most acute during the initial years of residence here, which probably accounts for the exceptional industriousness of the Later Migrants' mothers.

The white leavers whose fathers were in upper non-manual employment tended to be better qualified and were more likely to be assessed as having further academic potential. They were also given much higher intelligence and oral ability ratings, by COs. But there were only very small differences between the leavers from skilled manual and lower manual/non-manual families. So far as could be determined, the general tendency of COs and teachers to under-rate the abilities of West Indians was unaffected by differences in family occupational background. However, the fact that West Indians come predominantly from manual and lower non-manual families is undoubtedly a further

Figure 3.1 Diagrammatic representation of principal associations between the teachers' and Careers Officers' assessments and the leaver's education, social class and ethnicity



*The Careers Officer's assessments of intelligence, oral expression, comprehension and clarity of diction were *all* highly inter-correlated.

handicap, in that it probably accounts at least in part for West Indians being widely reported as tending to under-achieve at school. This is given added significance by the tendency, which we shall demonstrate later, for less qualified leavers to be especially affected by ethnocentric assessments of job suitability and discriminatory recruitment practices (see Chapter 12).

The principal associations between the teachers' and the COs' assessments, and the leavers' education, social class and ethnicity, as described above, are summarised diagrammatically, in Figure 3.1.

Reference

[1] Thomas, R and Wetherall, D. *Looking forward to work.* HMSO, 1970. p 93.

4 General attitudes toward work and vocational training

So far, we have examined the leavers' personal characteristics and family occupational backgrounds, and the validity of the assessments of their abilities by teachers and Careers Officers. In this chapter we shall discuss the relative importance the leavers attached to work; the general characteristics the leavers and their parents considered a good job should possess; the opinions of the parents on the merits of vocational training for their children; and the parents' general 'philosophy of work'.

Leavers' opinions about the importance of work

The method used to assess the relative importance attached to work was to ask each leaver to place the following statements in order of precedence, in terms of "*. . . what is most important to you now*":

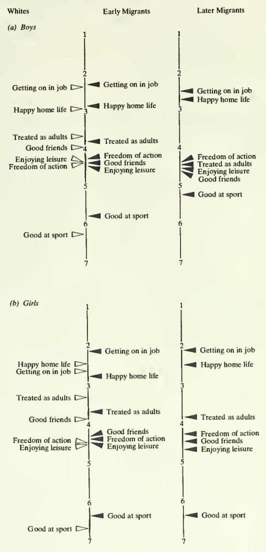
Enjoying yourself outside working hours;
Getting on well in your job or career;
Having a happy home life;
Having good friends to go around with;
Having freedom to spend your time the way you want to;
Being treated as an adult;
Being good at sports and games.

Each statement was given a value, indicating the order in which it was ranked by the informant. An average value was then calculated for each group of informants. The results are summarised for boys and girls separately, in Figure 4.1. (For a full account of the procedure used in administering this question, see Qn. 36 in the 'School Leaver's Questionnaire' – Appendix V.)

Figure 4.1 (a) shows that the outlooks of the three groups of boys were generally very similar. 'Getting on well in a job' was invariably given precedence over all other concerns, followed by the wish for 'a happy home life'. Prowess at sport was placed bottom, in every instance. Amongst the remaining four items which were bunched in the middle of the rank order, the desire to be 'treated as an adult' was generally given the greatest emphasis. But Whites displayed more concern, than did West Indians, for having good friends.

Figure 4.1 (b) demonstrates that the pattern of preferences of both groups of West Indian girls were almost identical to the boys'. The same was the case with the white girls, with one noteworthy exception: whereas West Indian girls, in common with all the boys, tended to be primarily concerned to get on well in their jobs, the white girls were inclined to regard 'a happy home life' as being at least as important as a successful career.

Figure 4.1 The relative importance of work to other concerns: mean rank order for each group of leavers



The only other notable divergence was that although all groups of leavers ranked 'being good at sports and games' as least important, there was a slight but consistent tendency for boys (especially Later Migrants) to rank it higher than did girls in the corresponding ethnic category, and for West Indians of both sexes to rank it higher than did their white counterparts.

The importance attached to different aspects of employment by the leavers and their parents

Both the parents and their children were then asked to rank a set of statements relating to specific factors which might influence the leavers' choice of occupations, and affect their reactions to the jobs which they subsequently obtained. The leaver was asked to put the

Figure 4.2 The relative importance of different aspects of employment: mean rank orders for each group of leavers

statements in order of precedence according to "*what you would want . . . to be happy in a job*". The parent was requested to do it in relation to what he or she thought was important "*. . . for a young person to be happy in a job*". (For a full account of the procedures used, see Qn. 35 in the 'School Leaver's Questionnaire', and Qn. 11 in the 'Parents' Questionnaire' – in Appendix V.) The statements were as follows:

Friendly people to work with;
Work you can be proud of;
Learning a trade or getting a good training;
A good chance of being promoted;
A steady job;
Work that is interesting;
Good pay.

The mean rank orders of the values for each group of informants were computed in the same manner as for the previous set of attitude statements. The results for the leavers are summarised in Figure 4.2.

The job characteristics which were generally foremost in the minds of the leavers reflected an especial concern with getting a good vocational training, having work that was interesting and fellow workers who were friendly. Matters such as job security and pay tended to be given relatively little stress, whilst at this early stage in their careers very little importance was attached to opportunities for promotion. There were, however, some considerable differences between the ethnic groups and between the sexes. Thus, whereas both groups of West Indian boys tended to be primarily concerned with obtaining a sound vocational training, and they were prone to regard the interest of their work as being a secondary consideration, the white boys tended to give precedence to the interest of the work over the standard of skill or training it required. Also, as compared with the corresponding group of boys, girls attached much more importance to the friendliness of their fellow workers and showed far less interest in vocational training. West Indians of both sexes were also more anxious than were Whites, to obtain work of which they could be proud.

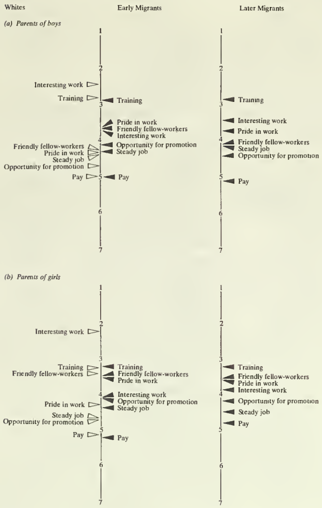
Comparison of the leavers' and their parents' attitudes

Assessing the significance of the differences between the attitudes of the leavers and those of their parents, as given in Figure 4.3, is slightly complicated by the fact that we interviewed only one parent, who might have been either the father or the mother. Generally we aimed to interview the father on the grounds that he was the one most likely to have had continuous experience of full-time paid employment, and whose attitude to work was therefore likely to have had most influence with the child; obviously this was not always true. Our instructions to the interviewer, therefore, were to interview the father unless the parents agreed that it was the mother who had more to do with the child's choice of job or career. There were also other circumstances when the mother was the informant: as when the father was unable or declined to be interviewed, but the mother was willing; or, as happened more frequently with West Indians, when there was no father present in the household. In the majority of cases, however, the father acted as the informant and this needs to be borne in mind when comparing the girls' attitudes with their parents'.

A comparison of Figures 4.2 (a) and 4.3 (a) shows that parents with sons in the sample tended to display the same ethnic differences as did their children, in respect to their ranking of the relative desirability of having a good training and doing interesting work. Like their sons, West Indian parents tended to regard training as the most desirable job characteristic, whereas parents of the matched white boys, in keeping with their sons, were more like to put interesting work in first place.

When we turn to the answers of parents with girls in the sample, as illustrated in Figure 4.3 (b), we find much less inter-generational consistency. This no doubt is because when it was the fathers who were interviewed they tended naturally to express a masculine attitude to employment and were less sensitive than the mothers might have been to the importance, for instance, of personal relationships at work, for girls.

Figure 4.3 The relative importance of different aspects of employment: mean rank orders for each group of parents



It is also noticeable that although all the parents gave 'pride in work' somewhat more emphasis than did their offspring, the West Indian parents, in common with their children, tended to rank it as more important than did their white counterparts. Parents of both ethnicities, however, were in agreement in placing their children's pay at the bottom of the list. A display of parental firmness with which it is understandable if the children did not entirely concur.

The parents of the Early and Later Migrants also tended to rank opportunities for promotion higher than did their children; whereas the white parents' views corresponded very closely with their children's. The reason for this anomaly appeared to be that the West Indian parents' ranking of this item (but not their children's) was influenced by the ethnicity of the interviewer. The difference in the rankings, according to who carried out the interview, are shown in Appendix IV, where we deal generally with ethnicity-of-interviewer effects (Table IV.4). Curiously, in this instance, the answers given by West Indian parents interviewed by a *White* were found to correspond closely with the views expressed by their children (to the same white interviewers), whereas when the interviews were conducted by West Indians there was a divergence in the average ranking given to opportunities for promotion – the parents in this situation tending to give it a higher ranking than did their children. The ranking of the other job features appears not to have been affected in this way, so far as we could determine. It is unlikely to be the children's views that were biased, because those interviewed by Whites gave similar responses to their fellows who were dealt with by a West Indian interviewer.

Association between the leavers' attitudes to work and other personal characteristics

The leavers' opinions about the desirability of particular aspects of employment were compared with their opinions about the relative importance of work and other activities, to see if there were any associations between them. We also endeavoured to see if there was any relationship between these attitudes and the leavers' educational level, personality assessments and family background. Three associations of interest were found, these were:

(a) 'Getting on well in a job' was strongly associated with 'getting a good training or learning a trade'.

(b) The higher the leaver placed 'friendly people to work with' in the order of precedence of desirable job characteristics, the more likely his or her teacher was to have assessed the person as being 'socially mature'.

(c) Leavers whose fathers were in lower manual/non-manual occupations tended to give especial stress to the importance of having 'pride in ones work'.

Parental opinions about vocational training

Attitudes to training have so far been discussed in only very general terms – in relation to how desirable the leavers and their parents thought vocational training to be, relative to other job characteristics. The parents were also asked, however, for their opinions on two specific issues, namely:

(i) the value of vocational training for girls; and
(ii) the value of apprenticeships (for boys) relative to other forms of further education.

The questions about the value of vocational training for girls were asked only of parents with daughters in the sample. An overall score was calculated for each parent based on the extent of his/her agreement with the following four statements:

(a) It's not worthwhile a girl going through a course of training as she is very likely to get married and give up her job;

(b) If a girl does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job while she is still young, she will regret it when she is older;

(c) It's not as important for a girl as it is for a boy to take a job where she will get a good training;

(d) It's better for a girl to take a job where she will be well trained, even if she does not earn very much to begin with.

After the overall score was calculated*, parents were classified as putting a 'high', 'medium' or 'low' value on vocational training for girls. Table 4.1 shows, in keeping with our previous findings, that all parents valued vocational training for girls highly. The West Indian parents, however, were slightly more in favour of training than were the white parents.

It will have been noted that this index took account – in statement (c) – of the relative importance that parents attached to vocational training for girls, compared to its value for boys. To provide a further means of measuring differences of attitude on this topic, two of the other statements about which we solicited the views of the parents of the girls, were also incorporated into the corresponding list used for parents with sons in the sample. These were:

(b) If a boy does not make sure of getting a thorough training for a job while he is still young he will regret it when he is older;

(d) It is better for a boy to take a job where he will be well trained, even if he does not earn very much to begin with.

Table 4.1 Parents' opinions about the value of vocational training for girls

Value put on vocational training for girls	Parents of daughters who were:		
	Matched Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
High	73	81	81
Medium	24	18	19
Low	3	1	—
Base (all parent respondents)	*174*	*157*	*67*

Comparisons of the answers from parents with sons in our sample, against those given by parents with daughters, showed that *all groups regarded vocational training as being of equal value for girls and boys.* As with daughters, West Indians were again slightly keener than Whites for their sons to have vocational training.

Parents of our male leavers were also asked to say to what extent the following two statements were true:

(a) Apprenticeships are a way for employers to get cheap labour;

(b) A boy should stay on at school to get a better education, rather than leave at 15 or 16 to take an apprenticeship.

Surprisingly, we found that white parents tended to be more in favour of apprenticeships as a means of gaining vocational qualifications, than were West Indians. There was virtual unanimity about the degree to which apprenticeships are actually exploitive. More than a half of the parents, in all three groups, completely disagreed with the suggestion that they are a form of 'cheap labour', and only about one in five fully agreed. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that the traditional association of apprenticeships with long years of ill-rewarded work is now rather out-dated. However, although apprenticeships were thus quite highly regarded amongst parents of both ethnicities, responses to the second statement showed a marked divergence of opinion about their worth as a means of obtaining vocational qualifications, compared with other forms of education. Table 4.2 shows that only 7% and 12%, respectively, of the parents of the Early and Later Migrants, expressed a definite preference for their children taking apprenticeships, rather than staying on at school to improve their general education, compared with 28% of the white parents. The equivalent proportions preferring they should remain at school being 69%, 58% and 31% respectively. This finding is of some interest, given the traditional association of West Indians with skilled manual employment, to which apprenticeships are, of course, a common mode of entry.

Table 4.2 Parents' opinions about the value of apprenticeships for boys

Parents' opinion of the statement:	Parents with sons who were:		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
"A boy should stay on at school to get a better education, rather than leave at 15 or 16 to take an apprenticeship"	%	%	%
Fully agree	31	59	68
Partly agree/depends	41	29	24
Disagree	28	12	7
Base (all parent respondents)	*191*	*184*	*70*

One would also expect there to be social class differences on this subject. As these questions were confined to the parents with boys in the sample, and the proportion of fathers in higher non-manual jobs, even amongst the Whites, was small, the samples were not large enough to make it worthwhile including this occupational group in a social class analysis. This is probably one reason why no consistent differences by social class were found amongst the Whites. But amongst the West Indians we did find evidence of a difference of view, related to social class. The parents in West Indian families in which the father was a skilled manual worker tended to be more in favour of apprenticeships, as compared to those where the father had a lower manual/non-manual occupation: see Table 4.3 for the parents of the Early Migrants. The data for the parents of the Later Migrants showed the same trend, but the sample sizes were very small. As a higher proportion of the Later Migrants' fathers were in lower manual/non-manual employment, this helps to explain why there was a general tendency for the Later Migrants' parents to be less enthusiastic about apprenticeships – see Table 4.2. It is also possible that another factor affecting the outlooks of the West Indian parents – particularly those (like many of the parents of the Later Migrants) who had come to Britain fairly recently – is

* See Appendix III for how this was done.

that they may still have been influenced by the very high symbolic importance attached to formal education in the West Indies[1].

The parents' work philosophy

We also asked the parents a number of other questions whose purpose was to gain an insight into the more subtle influences that the leavers' families might exert over their children's attitudes to employment. As the time that could be given to these questions in the interview was limited we were able to ask only a very few questions, and to explore only two issues. These were: the extent to which parents saw paid employment as intrinsically worthwhile, or merely as a means to other ends; and the degree to which they thought a person's success in employment was determined by his own efforts and capabilities. These two aspects of a person's work philosophy have an obvious relevance to any study of attitudes to work and much has been written about them previously[2]; the second – the extent to which a person feels he can influence or 'control' what happens to him – also has a special significance for an ethnic minority accustomed to being discriminated against in employment.

Rewards for merit, or 'locus of control'

The notion of a person's 'locus of control' has been defined by Organ[2] as, *"a person's system of generalised beliefs about the degree to which he or she can by his or her own behaviour control the reinforcing outcomes of life. Life and work are both fraught with any number of important situations in which the efficacy of personal control is objectively indeterminable; it is in these situations that some persons will characteristically tend to doubt the potential of their behaviour for influencing outcomes, whilst others believe that their behaviour will or can effect such outcomes"*. This concept was translated into three attitude statements which aimed to differentiate between parents who believed that getting a good job and being promoted is dependent on a person's own behaviour (qualifications, skill, competence), rather than on other factors, such as luck or personal contacts. The three statements about which informants were asked for their opinions were as follows:

(1) Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else;

(2) Getting a good job depends on knowing the right people more than on how well qualified or skilled you are;

(3) Getting promotion depends on whether the people in charge happen to like you, more than on whether you are good at your work.

The parents' responses were examined for ethnic differences, social class influence and also for ethnicity-of-interviewer effects. There was very little indication of social class differences amongst Whites; but there were large variations in the outlooks of Whites and West Indians and between occupational groups amongst the West Indians. All these differences have been summarised in Table 4.4, in a 'reward for merit' index which combines the answers from all three questions, in terms of 'low', 'medium' and 'high' scores, indicating the extent to which the parents thought that a person's competence and qualifications were the major determinants in getting a good job and being promoted. (See Appendix III for details of how the index was constructed.)

The large divergence in outlook between white and West Indian parents indicated by the index, was present in the answers to all three of the questions asked. It will be noted that this ethnic difference is especially

Table 4.3 Influence of father's occupation on West Indian opinions about apprenticeships: Early Migrants only

Father's occupational group	Early Migrant's opinion of the statement: *"A boy should stay on at school to get a better education, rather than leave at 15 or 16 to take an apprenticeshp"*			*Base* (= 100%)*
	Fully agree	Partly agree	Disagree	
	%	%	%	
Skilled manual	51	33	16	*82*
Lower manual/ non-manual	64	26	10	*61*

* *Interviewed parents of boys from families having a father in employment. Excludes a few cases where information about father's employment was not available or adequate.*

Table 4.4 Parents' 'locus of control' (reward for merit) index

Degree to which it was thought that one's ability and qualifications were the major determinants in getting good jobs and promotion	Father's occupational group				
	White parents			Early Migrants' parents	
	Higher non-manual	Skilled manual	Lower Manual/non-man	Skilled manual	Lower manual/non-man
	%	%	%	%	%
High	26	22	22	12	10
Medium	62	62	65	58	50
Low	11	16	13	29	40
Base (all parents in full-time employment who were interviewed)†	*53*	*142*	*72*	*137*	*88*

† *West Indian informants from families where the father was in a higher non-manual occupation are excluded from the table because they were insufficient in number.*

pronounced with parents from lower manual/non-manual backgrounds. Thus, whereas West Indians from skilled manual families were about twice as likely to have 'low' scores on the index as were the equivalent Whites, amongst parents in families where the father was in lower status employment the West Indians were three times as likely to have a 'low' score. It is especially interesting that occupational background had little influence on the outlook of Whites, but was clearly an important factor for West Indians. Closer examination of the data showed that this difference between the two groups of West Indians was especially pronounced in relation to promotion: where the father was in low grade manual or non-manual employment the informant was especially likely to feel that the chances of being promoted depended 'on whether the people in charge happen to like you, more than on whether you are good at your work'.

The same occupational differences were found amongst the Later Migrants' parents, to an even greater degree, but as sample sizes were very small they have not been included in the table.

'Instrumentality'

The questions which were asked to determine the extent to which parents thought that paid employment should be seen as an end in itself, or simply as a means or 'instrument' to achieving other ends, were as follows:

(1) One of the most important things in life is to have a job you really like doing;

(2) It's natural for people to enjoy what they do in their leisure time more than their work;

(3) When all is said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay.

These questions proved much less productive than those dealing with 'locus of control'. Practically everyone agreed that 'one of the most important things in life is to have a job you really like doing'. The answers to the second question, on the relative enjoyability of work and leisure, were much affected by the ethnicity of the interviewer (see Appendix IV). After allowance was made for this, there were found to be no detectable ethnic or social class differences in response. Just over a half of the parents felt it was 'natural' to enjoy one's leisure more than work, and only one in seven definitely thought the opposite. Only the last statement, suggesting that pay is ultimately the most important thing about any job, produced some interesting results. Answers varied both with ethnicity and social class (Table 4.5). We have again only shown the responses from the parents of the Early Migrant and white leavers, because of the small size of the Later Migrant parent sample when sub-divided by occupational background.

Table 4.5 shows that, in both ethnic groups, the people with a lower manual/non-manual background were the most likely to attach prime importance to pay, but that within each occupational group this view was especially widespread amongst West Indians. A medley of factors must underline these divergences – not least, the practical consideration of how much people could earn in their various occupations. The West Indians' tendency to feel that their abilities and qualifications were ill-rewarded in the labour market (see Table 4.4) is also likely to have led them to adopt a more instrumental or pragmatic attitude toward their work.

It was also found that with both the 'reward for merit' index and the question about the relative importance of pay, that the ethnicity of the interviewer had some effect on the answers. Parents who had been interviewed by West Indians were slightly less likely to say that getting a good job and being promoted depended on a person's ability and qualifications, and were somewhat more prone to take the view that, ultimately, the most important thing about any job is the pay. (A similar slight ethnicity-of-interviewer effect was also found later in relation to the leavers' scores on the 'reward for merit' index, at the third interview – see Vol. 2, Chapter 8 and Appendix I. This ethnicity-of-interviewer bias, however, had only a very marginal effect on the ethnic variations demonstrated in the tables.

Summary

When asked about their priorities in life, despite their youth the leavers appeared to attach relatively little important to their social life and leisure interests – a reflection, perhaps, of the stress they gave to their desire to be 'treated as an adult'. Boys, in both ethnic groups, were especially concerned with getting on well in their employment, followed by a desire for a happy home life. The outlooks of the West Indian girls corresponded closely to the boys', the white girls however tended to regard domestic happiness as being at least as important as a successful career.

In relation to their jobs, at this very early stage in their careers people tended to give relatively low priority to pay and to longer-term objectives like promotion and job security; the concerns that were generally foremost in their minds being the need to get a good vocational training, to have interesting work and friendly workmates. There were, however, some considerable differences in outlook between the ethnic groups and between the sexes. Girls were more concerned about having friendly people to work with and gave a lower priority to vocational training, as compared to the corresponding group of boys. The importance of vocational training to boys was particularly marked amongst the West Indians. Thus, whereas white boys tended to give precedence to the interest of the work over the level of skill or training it required, both groups of West Indian boys were primarily concerned with obtaining a sound vocational training and were prone to regard the interest of the work as a secondary consideration. West Indians of both sexes also tended to give a higher priority (than did Whites) to having work of which they

Table 4.5 Parents' 'instrumentality' (importance of pay) index

Parents opinion of statement: *"When all is said and done, the most important thing about any job is the pay"*	Father's occupational group				
	White parents			Early Migrants' parents	
	Higher non-manual	Skilled manual	Lower manual/non-man	Skilled manual	Lower manual/non-man
	%	%	%	%	%
True	42	55	67	69	78
Partly true	36	30	21	21	11
Untrue	23	15	12	9	10
Base (all parent respondents)†	*53*	*142*	*72*	*137*	*88*

† *West Indian informants from families where the father was in a higher non-manual occupation are excluded from the table because they were insufficient in number.*

could be proud, which was related to the fact that this was most likely to be thought important by leavers whose fathers were in low status occupations.

The parents with sons in the sample had similar outlooks to their children. There was a lesser correspondence between the views of the girls and their parents; this being probably because it was generally the fathers who had been interviewed. When parents were asked in more detail for their views on vocational training, it was found that white parents were notably more enthusiastic about apprenticeships. Although neither the Whites nor the West Indians denigrated apprenticeships as a means of gaining vocational qualifications, white parents were more in favour of their sons leaving school early to enter apprenticeships, instead of staying on to obtain a better general education. Despite the fact that their sons tended to give a higher priority to vocational training, than did their daughters, parents in both ethnic groups generally regarded vocational training as being of equal value for girls and boys.

The only consistent social class difference was between West Indian parents of skilled manual and lower manual/non-manual backgrounds: the former being more in favour of apprenticeships.

West Indian parents were much less likely, than Whites, to feel that getting a good job and being promoted depended on a person's ability and qualifications. This difference between the ethnic groups was particularly evident amongst people in families of a low occupational status: West Indians in such families being especially prone to feel that promotion was determined by supervisors' predilections rather than on individual merit. These divergences in attitude were given further expression in the degree to which parents felt that 'the most important thing about any job is the pay'. Whilst in both ethnic groups the propensity to adopt this view was most pronounced amongst informants from families of low occupational status, within each occupational group, once again, it was invariably the West Indians who were most likely to have this outlook. This more 'instrumental' attitude toward employment amongst the West Indian parents was probably encouraged by their feeling less able to secure promotion and the type of work that was commensurate with their capabilities.

The questions which were put to the parents about their work philosophies and the merits of vocational training were not asked of the leavers at this stage, as we wished to avoid the leavers' opinions being unduly influenced by their parents' views, and as we would have an opportunity later in the survey to assess the leavers' attitudes after they had gained more personal experience of employment and were better able to form an independent and mature judgement of their own (see Volume 2, Chapter 8).

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Part II Preparing for employment

5 Ambitions when leaving school

Having discussed our informants' general orientation to work we shall now examine the nature of the occupations which they aspired to enter when first leaving school. We shall also, in this chapter, consider the 'realism' of their ambitions, in terms of the Careers Officers' assessments of the suitability of their aspirations and the corresponding Heg Scale ratings (for an account of the nature and origin of the Heg Scale see Appendix III, pages 6–8). Finally, the leavers ambitions will be compared with the occupational backgrounds of their parents and siblings.

Needless to say, after their initial experiences of employment, many leavers had second thoughts about their future careers. These subsequent changes of mind will be dealt with in a later chapter, after we have examined their sources of careers guidance, experiences when trying to get work and the types of jobs they eventually obtained.

Table 5.1 Occupational groups of desired jobs of matched pairs

Early Migrants	Matched Whites: Higher non-manual	Skilled manual.	Lower manual and non-manual	Totals
Higher non-manual	35% *116*	9% *29*	5% *17*	*162*
Skilled manual	11% *38*	30% *101*	5% *17*	*156*
Lower manual and non-manual	2% *6*	2% *7*	0% *1*	*14*
Totals	*160*	*137*	*35*	*Base (= 100%)* *332*

Excludes matched pairs where one or both persons had not made up their mind about desired job.

The types of jobs they wanted

At the first interview leavers were asked whether their present or recent jobs were in the occupations they had aspired to enter when first leaving school. If not, we ascertained what it was they had wanted to do. Only 5% of Whites and 2% of West Indians said they did not have a definite job in mind. It is possible that some who were undecided when leaving school but were subsequently satisfied with the jobs they got, may have told us this was what they had always wanted to do, but there is no evidence to suggest this was so.

Table 5.1 compares the aspirations of the matched pairs of white and Early Migrant leavers, and shows that when age, sex, education and area are controlled for, 66% of the matched pairs (being the total on the diagonal) wished to enter similar occupational groups. The main divergences are seen most clearly in the Table 5.2 which separates the sexes and also features the Later Migrants. This second table suggests that West Indians of both sexes tended to be slightly more ambitious, as only 3%–6% wished to enter jobs in the lowest occupational stratum, compared with 10%–11% of Whites. We will return to this point later, when discussing the suitability of their aspirations (see pages 16–19). Skilled manual work was by far the most popular employment amongst boys generally, but especially so with West Indians of whom 82% wanted jobs of this kind, compared to 69% of Whites. White boys were slightly more in favour of higher non-manual occupations: 19% compared to 12%–15% of West Indian boys. Most of the girls' desired jobs, in the West Indian groups especially, were in higher non-manual occupations.

Table 5.3 classifies ambitions by socio-economic group. Its slightly more refined breakdown provides a little more information about the general trends observed in the previous table. It shows, for instance, that the West Indian girls' especial propensity to want higher non-manual work was the result of their being attracted particularly to jobs in the intermediate non-manual SEGs – which in this instance largely meant nursing. The majority of girls, however, wanted junior non-manual (mostly office-type) jobs. Personal service is a very small category but one that also seems to have attracted rather more girls than boys, in both ethnic groups. The other noteworthy feature of the SEG table is the small proportion of leavers who had wanted originally to join the Armed Forces. These, of course, being the ones who had *not* succeeded in doing so; those who had been recruited were excluded from our samples (See Appendix I).

The variations in the aspirations of the Whites and West Indians were relatively small and correspond with the differences in their outlooks which we examined earlier, insofar as the propensity of West Indian boys to wish for skilled manual work and the girls to want to be nurses reflects the particular concern of West Indians to obtain a good vocational trianing. The aspirations of leavers in both London and Birmingham were also found to be generally similar, apart from a tendency for Londoners, both white and West Indian, to favour

Table 5.2 Occupational group of desired job by sex

Occupational group of desired job	Boys			Girls		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Upper non-manual	19	12	15	78	88	93
Skilled manual*	69	82	82	9	6	1
Lower manual and non-manual	10	4	3	11	5	6
Insufficient information	2	2	—	1	1	—
Base (all who had desired jobs)	*186*	*192*	*68*	*166*	*172*	*71*

* *The proportions of jobs classified as 'skilled manual' in the above table are slightly higher than in the similarly named socio-economic group in Table 5.3 because Armed Forces, and some other types of job in categories which are distinguished separately in the SEG classification, are also treated as 'skilled manual' in the Social Class classification on which the Occupational Groups are based (see Appendix III).*

Table 5.3 Socio-economic group of desired job by sex

SEG of desired job	Boys			Girls		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	10	4	4	20	27	38
Junior non-manual workers	11	9	12	63	62	55
Personal service workers	3	—	—	8	3	1
Skilled manual workers	65	79	78	2	3	—
Semi-skilled manual workers	5	2	1	4	3	4
Unskilled manual workers	1	1	—	—	—	—
Armed Forces	3	3	4	2	1	1
Insufficient information	2	2	—	1	1	—
Base (all who had desired jobs)	*186*	*192*	*68*	*166*	*172*	*71*

upper non-manual jobs more than did their counterparts in Birmingham.

The suitability of the leavers' aspirations

There has been much discussion about the 'realism' of the ambitions of West Indian school leavers and over the extent to which 'unrealistic' aspirations contribute to the difficulties they experience when seeking employment[1]. This is obviously an important issue. It is also a topic which is inherently contentious, as the assessment of the suitability of ambitions is naturally prone to subjective bias on the part of whoever has the task of judging them. It was to help overcome this problem that we adopted the Heg Scale to provide an objective means of matching the leaver's exam passes to the minimum qualifications normally required for entry to his or her desired occupation (see page 41 for further discussion of this point). Originally, we had hoped we would be able to use the Heg Scale ratings in conjunction with the COs' assessments, to enable us to make an impartial and more refined judgement of job suitability. In the event, we found that this was not feasible because of a pronounced bias in the COs' assessments. This is hardly surprising given the degree to which ethnicity was found to have influenced the COs' personal impressions of the leavers' oral abilities and intelligence. However, the ethnocentric bias in the COs' assessments did not affect all West Indians to the same extent, and the manner in which the COs' general impressions of the leavers influenced assessments of job suitability is itself a matter of considerable interest. For these reasons, and because of the further light which it throws upon the equivalent process of discriminatory assessment of job applicants by employers, we shall attempt in the following few pages to show how and why the COs' assessments were biased. To do this we shall compare the COs' assessments of leavers' desired jobs with both the corresponding Heg Scale ratings and their impressions of the leavers' general intelligence. We shall also examine the extent to which the COs' assessments of the suitability of the leavers' aspirations proved to be accurate forecasts of the likelihood of the leavers eventually obtaining the jobs they wanted.

It was only possible, of course, to compare the alternative ratings for leavers whose aspirations had been assessed by COs. In many instances we did not have the COs' opinion about the suitability of the occupation that the leaver told us he or she wanted, largely because some of the leavers had not made much use of the Careers Service and others had not discussed these particular jobs with their COs. However, full information

Table 5.4 Careers Officer's assessment and Heg Scale rating of leaver's desired job by leaver's educational level

	Leavers whose ambitions were assessed by COs			All leavers*		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(a) *Leavers qualified at craftsman level† whose desired jobs were assessed as suitable:*						
By Careers Officers§	82	73	62			
On the Heg Scale	79	78	84	76	76	74
(b) *Leavers with* LOWER *qualifications whose desired jobs were assessed as suitable:*						
By Careers Officers§	76	53	59			
On the Heg Scale	32	32	31	32	28	30
Bases (a)	*122*	*105*	*32*	*153*	*127*	*39*
(b)	*149*	*178*	*71*	*197*	*237*	*100*

* *Excluding leavers who had not made up their minds about what they wanted to do when they first left school.*
† *Those whose level of exam passes were coded 1 to 4 on the Heg Scale (see Appendix III). That is, who had 4 CSEs, grades 2–4, or 3 GCE O levels, or an appropriate combination of these.*
§ *That is, those whose qualifications and/or ability were considered by COs to be adequate for the job. See commentary below.*

was available for about three quarters of the leavers who had made up their minds about what they wanted to do on leaving school, and as their Heg Scale ratings were broadly similar to those for the whole sample (see Table 5.4) there is no reason to think they were in any way unrepresentative.

Comparison of Careers Officers' assessments and Heg Scale ratings

Table 5.4 compares the COs' and Heg Scale ratings of the aspirations of people who were qualified for 'craftsman' level occupations or above, with those of less qualified leavers. That is to say, leavers who had at least three GCE O levels, or four CSE passes at grades 2 to 4, or an appropriate combination of such qualifications; as compared with the remainder (see Appendix III). We have chosen to classify leavers on this basis in Table 5.4, rather than to use the threefold educational split employed elsewhere in the report because it is a better way of distinguishing leavers who were qualified to enter occupations of a type that generally have specific and relatively inflexible educational requirements for entry, and where therefore job suitability could be more readily assessed solely on the basis of the leaver's educational attainments. As will be shown presently, this distinction is of particular importance in relation to the way in which the employment aspirations of West Indians were assessed (see below and Chapter 7).

Table 5.4 shows that for Whites who were qualified at the 'craftsman' level or above, there was a high level of agreement between the COs' assessments of their aspirations and the corresponding Heg Scale ratings. The COs appear, however, to have been more severe in their judgement of the suitability of the West Indians' desired jobs, especially the Later Migrants'. On the Heg Scale, 78% and 84% of Early and Later Migrants respectively, in this upper educational category, were rated as having the necessary minimum qualifications for entry to their desired occupations, compared to 73% and 62% according to the COs. The bottom part of Table 5.4 shows that in relation to leavers with lower educational attainments the bias was even stronger. But, although COs were much less likely to approve of the less educated West Indians' aspirations, than they were of the ambitions of equivalent Whites, in all three groups the COs' assessments were invariably more favourable than the corresponding Heg Scale ratings. Amongst the Whites and both groups of West Indians in the lower educational stratum, 31% to 32% were rated on the Heg Scale as adequately qualified for their desired occupations; whereas in the opinions of the COs the proportions were 76%, 53% and 50%, for Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively.

These divergences in the COs' assessments of the job suitability of Whites and West Indians were found to occur in both London and Birmingham, and in relation to both manual and non-manual occupations.

The uniformly low Heg Scale ratings of the suitability of the ambitions of the less qualified leavers is consonant with our observation that lack of qualifications did not appear to inhibit leavers from aspiring to enter skilled occupations. Very few indeed, even of those who had only two CSEs below grade 1, or less, said they were aiming for lower manual/non-manual type jobs, in keeping with their meagre qualifications (Table 5.8). It is, therefore, the COs' assessments of these leavers' aspirations that look dubious, rather than the Heg Scale ratings, especially in relation to the Whites.

In view of these findings we need to make a few general remarks about the comparability of the COs' assessments and the corresponding Heg Scale ratings. It was often unclear whether the CO considered a leaver's desired job unsuitable because of inadequate qualifications or because the leaver was thought to lack the

necessary general ability. Consequently, in the table, those shown as being 'suitable' for their desired jobs, according to the COs, exclude any who were thought unsuitable on grounds of educational qualifications and/or ability†. This has implications that are of especial relevance to leavers with a relatively low standard of education. As the Heg Scale is a standardised measure it cannot cater fully for variations between local labour markets, the varying standards expected by different employers, or for periodic fluctuations in demand and supply of job applicants and vacancies which are likely to affect the level of qualifications which employers expect, particularly in occupations where few formal qualifications are usually needed. For the poorly qualified leaver who is aiming for a job of this kind it is also very likely that the general impression the leaver makes upon a CO, or prospective employer, may often be as important an influence on their judgement of the applicant's suitability as whatever qualifications the person may have. This is no doubt why it was often unclear whether the COs' judgement was based on the adequacy of the leaver's education or on the their general impressions of the leaver's ability as derived from school reports and the officer's personal observations. It also helps to explain why there were larger divergences between the Heg Scale ratings and the COs' assessments of the job aspirations of the less qualified leavers. In particular, it accounts for why the COs tended to take a more favourable view of the white leavers' job prospects than those of similarly qualified West Indians, for as was demonstrated earlier, the COs tended to rate the general intelligence of West Indians lower than that of Whites who were of a similar educational level (see Tables 3.7 and 3.8). The closer agreement between the Heg Scale ratings and the COs' assessments of the better qualified leavers of both ethnic groups (excepting for the Later Migrants) is probably because, in this case, it was easier for the COs to assess suitability on the basis of the leaver's academic qualifications alone; because a good educational record is of itself an indication that the person is fairly able, and there are more likely to be definite minimum educational requirements for the types of occupation such leavers would wish to enter.

The relationship between perceived ability and assessments of job suitability

Further confirmation of the bias in the assessments of the West Indians' job suitability is furnished by Table 5.5. This table shows that amongst both Whites and West Indians, the lower their assessed level of intelligence, the less likely people were to be rated, on the Heg Scale, as being qualified for their desired jobs. The COs' assessments of the leavers' aspirations also display a similar trend. This is as one would expect, given that the intelligence assessments were closely correlated to educational acheivement, and that (as demonstrated in Table 5.4) less educated leavers tended to be less well qualified for their desired jobs. However, in keeping with the general tendency for the COs to be more lenient than the Heg Scale, we find also, in Table 5.5, that at every level of assessed intelligence the COs took a much more favourable view of the Whites' aspirations than would appear to be justified by the corresponding Heg Scale ratings. But whereas the Heg Scale ratings of the aspirations of the Whites and West Indians were relatively similar at every level of assessed intelligence, the COs judged the desired jobs of the West Indians who were perceived as having a below average intelligence more severely than they did the equivalent Whites. The same is true of those who were rated as being of average intelligence but to a much lesser extent. Thus, Table 5.5 demonstrates that in addition to their general propensity to underrate the intelligence of West Indians, the COs displayed a further bias when it came to judging their clients' job suitability. In the latter case, however, the additional bias was largely confined to the (less qualified) West Indians who were attributed with a low intelligence.

As we commented earlier, it was undoubtedly easier for COs to make an objective assessment of the general ability and job suitability of better qualified leavers. The COs' assessments of the poorly qualified leavers were more likely to have been influenced by the COs' personal impressions of their clients. It is, therefore, of particular significance that the West Indians who were rated as the least intelligent, and whose job aspirations were assessed especially severely, were also the people whom we found earlier tended to be given particularly low oral ability assessments (see Table 3.9). *This strongly implies that it was the poor impression that the COs formed of the abilities of this group of West Indians during interviews that led the COs to have an especially low opinion of their clients' job suitability.*

Predictive accuracy of the Careers Officers' assessments

A further way of testing the COs' assessments of their clients' aspirations is to see how accurate their judgements proved to be in predicting whether their clients would get the jobs they wanted. This can be measured by the difference between the success rates of those whose ambitions were thought by the COs to be 'suitable' and those considered 'unsuitable', in each group, as shown in Table 5.6.

The table shows that in relation to the more highly educated leavers, both Whites and Early Migrants, the COs were a fairly good guide to whether their clients would be successful: those whose ambitions were approved being very roughly twice as likely to get the jobs they wanted as compared with their peers whose ambitions were considered unsuitable. But particularly in the lower educational stratum, the predictive accuracy of the COs' assessments was better for West Indians, than for Whites. We concluded earlier, that

† Occasionally, although a CO did not question that a leaver had the ability or qualifications needed for the job, the CO had doubts about its suitability on other grounds, such as personality or the availability of vacancies of the kind being sought. When comparing the COs' assessments with the Heg Scale ratings such other doubts on the part of COs have been disregarded, as the Heg Scale only measures suitability in relation to educational qualifications.

Table 5.5 Careers Officer's assessment and Heg Scale rating of leaver's desired job by COs' assessment of leaver's intelligence

Leavers whose ambitions assessed as suitable:	CO's assessment of leaver's intelligence								
	Above average			Average			Below average		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%
By Careers Officer*	81	89	*5*	76	67	70	63	39	40
On HEG scale	65	67	*3*	50	51	54	45	41	44
Base†	*74*	*36*	*8*	*125*	*132*	*37*	*75*	*109*	*57*
Proportions of each group assessed as having stated level of intelligence	27%	13%	8%	46%	48%	36%	27%	39%	56%

* *See note to Table 5.4.*
† *Leavers for whom we did not have the COs' opinions about their desired jobs, or who had not made up their minds about what they wanted to do when they left school, are excluded from the above table.*

Table 5.6 Predictive accuracy of Careers Officer's assessment of leaver's desired job by leaver's educational level

If leaver obtained desired job	Educational level							
	Medium or high†				Low			
	CO's assessment of leaver's desired job				CO's assessment of leaver's desired job			
	Suitable*		Unsuitable		Suitable*		Unsuitable	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	65	68	38	30	57	65	23	20
No	35	32	62	70	43	35	77	80
Base (all leavers who knew what they wanted to do on leaving school and whose aspirations were assessed by COs)	*133*	*105*	*40*	*60*	*70*	*52*	*26*	*51*

* *That is those whose qualifications and ability were considered by COs to be adequate for the job. See commentary on page 41.*
† *The top two educational strata have been combined in this instance because the sample size of the top stratum (with GCE O levels) was insufficient, when restricted to those for whom we had COs' assessments of their aspirations, to withstand the further sub-division required in this table.*

the COs appeared to have been especially optimistic about the prospects of the less educated Whites – by comparison with the corresponding Heg ratings of the adequacy of their qualifications for the jobs they were trying to get. Table 5.6 confirms that this was also true in practice, in that only 57% of those whose aspirations were approved by COs succeeded in fulfilling their ambitions, compared with 65% of the equivalent West Indians and 65%–68% of better educated leavers. The most important conclusion to be drawn from this data, however, is that the COs' assessments proved to be generally more accurate in relation to Early Migrants than to Whites, at all levels of educational achievement, but especially at the lower level where the standards of assessment were also most likely to have evinced an ethnocentric bias. *This suggests that employers tended to use the same criteria as Careers Officers, when assessing the suitability of West Indian job applicants.*

Further checks confirmed that the situation as described above pertained in both London and Birmingham, in respect to both manual and non-manual occupations. The assessments of the Later Migrants' aspirations displayed the same general characteristics as for the Early Migrants', to an even greater degree, although as their sample size was too small it was not possible to examine their situation in the same detail. As will be shown later (in Chapter 7), although according to the Heg Scale the Later Migrants were nearly as well qualified for their desired jobs as were the Early Migrants, they were less successful in getting them. The inference clearly being that the tendency for assessments of this group to be particularly affected by an ethnocentric bias amongst the Careers Officers was repeated amongst prospective employers, when the Later Migrants applied for jobs.

Thus, to summarise, we find that the effect of the ethnocentric bias in the COs' personal impressions of the Early Migrants' general abilities and on the COs' judgement of the suitability of these leavers' aspirations, was especially evident in relation to those who were in the lower educational stratum. But with respect to more recent immigrants, there appeared also to be a strong bias in the COs' job suitability assessments even of those who had a relatively good standard of education. However, if the COs' opinions about the suitability of the leavers' desired jobs are treated simply as a prognosis of the likelihood of the leavers succeeding

in getting the jobs they were after, we find that the COs' assessments tended, in fact, to be even more accurate for West Indians than they were for Whites. This strongly suggests that the COs' impressions of their West Indian clients' general abilities simulated the reactions of prospective employers. The mutual bias they appear to have had was contingent on two factors: the leaver's length of residence in Britain and his or her level of education.

Less qualified West Indians generally, and Later Migrants regardless of their educational attainments, tended to be assessed less favourably than better qualified leavers who had spent all or most of their formative years in Britain. The former were also more likely to possess a noticeable West Indian accent which could have acted as an impediment to communication with non-West Indians – although it is undoubtedly too simplistic to suggest that difficulty in oral communication is all that is implied by this association. We do not have the data needed to explore the matter further but commonsense suggests that the prevalence of strong West Indian accents amongst those whose assessments were much affected by an ethnocentric bias on the part of COs and prospective employers probably indicates that these West Indians were also likely to have had other distinctive cultural traits. The better qualified boy or girl who had resided in Britain a long time and who spoke and behaved in a more anglicised manner was therefore likely to be better 'understood' in a number of ways. The ethnocentric standards of assessment that both COs and employers were prone to apply to all leavers, inevitably placed the recent immigrant at a greater disadvantage.

The reason we have explored this issue in detail is not in order to denigrate the Careers Service. As we shall presently show, COs often expended considerable effort in trying to place West Indians in employment and the Careers Service was generally regarded favourably by West Indians (see Chapter 6). When COs use ethnocentric standards of assessment they are in effect echoing the practices of employers. Hence, their prognostications are likely to prove realistic and probably help to avoid them sending their West Indian clients after jobs for which they are most likely to be rejected. Although this carries the attendant danger that their assessments may then become self-fulfilling prophecies.

Our reason for examining the manner in which ethnic discrimination operates in this context was that we wished to try to elucidate a situation which is commonly known to occur but about which reliable evidence is often lacking. It also demonstrates why in the remainder of this report we use only the Heg Scale when assessing the leavers' suitability for the jobs they wanted to get, or which they ultimately obtained. For despite its imperfections, which we discussed earlier, it is clearly the only *neutral* measure of job suitability at our disposal.

Table 5.7 Academic suitability of desired job by occupational group and sex of leaver

	Proportions with desired jobs assessed as academically suitable, according to HEG Scale					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	%	*Base*	*%*	*Base*	*%*	*Base*
Occupational group						
Upper non-manual	59	*166*	58	*174*	58	*76*
Skilled manual	39	*144*	29	*169*	20	*57*
Sex						
Boys	39	*184*	30	*192*	24	*68*
Girls	66	*166*	62	*172*	61	*71*
All leavers	**51**	*350*	**45**	*364*	**42**	*139*

Table excludes 5% of Whites and 2% of West Indians who had not made up their minds about what they wanted to do when leaving school. As relatively few leavers wanted to enter the lower manual/non-manual occupations they are not included in the first two rows but are included in the last three.

Other factors affecting the suitability of aspirations

It was observed previously that, according to the Heg Scale, there was a slight tendency for West Indians (especially when their qualifications were below craftsman level) to be less well suited for the jobs they wanted to get, compared to Whites with the same level of education (see Table 5.4). A similar trend was evident when we compared the occupational groups of their desired jobs. Consequently, when each group of leavers is taken as a whole, we find (Table 5.7) that only 45% of Early Migrants and 42% of Later Migrants were rated as being adequately qualified for their desired jobs, as compared to 51% of Whites. Table 5.7 also shows, however, that this difference was entirely confined to leavers who wanted to enter skilled manual occupations. A large proportion of the people who aspired to skilled manual work lacked the minimum qualifications usually required for entry, this being especially true of West Indians. Only 39% of Whites, but as little as 29% of Early Migrants and 20% of Later Migrants who were aiming for this kind of job, had the right qualifications. This was because less educated boys (particularly if they were West Indian) frequently aimed for skilled manual jobs (see Table 5.8). By contrast, in all three groups of leavers, the people who wished to enter higher non-manual work were generally much better fitted for it: 58%–59% being adequately qualified.

The variations between the proportions who were adequately qualified in each occupational group are again reflected in the differences in the suitability of the aspirations of boys and girls. Most girls wanted higher non-manual jobs, whose entry requirements were often relatively low (see Table 8.4). Consequently, the girls were much more likely to be suitably qualified for their desired jobs (see Table 5.7).

Further checks confirmed that the trends described above occurred in both London and Birmingham.

Table 5.8 Occupational group of desired job by leaver's educational level

Occupational group of desired job	Educational Level					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Upper non-manual	40	39	47	50	59	60
Skilled manual	43	54	41	44	37	38
Lower manual/non-manual	16	7	10	3	1	1
Insufficient information	1	1	2	3	2	1
Bases (all who had desired jobs)	*146*	*147*	*125*	*137*	*81*	*80*

Table 5.9 Comparison of leaver's desired job with father's occupational group by sex of leaver

Occupational group of child's desired job	Father's occupational group and sex of leaver							
	Boys				Girls			
	Skilled manual		Lower manual/ non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/ non-manual	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Upper non-manual	15	11	15	13	81	91	76	86
Skilled manual	73	85	74	84	8	4	12	7
Lower manual/non-manual	12	4	11	3	11	5	12	7
Base (leavers with desired job, parents interview and fathers in employment)	*86*	*78*	*45*	*57*	*70*	*73*	*37*	*39*

The table excludes a few households where no interview could be obtained with a parent and for which, therefore, we have no employment data for other family members.

Family influences on the leavers' choice of jobs

In the next chapter, which deals with sources of careers guidance, we shall observe how much influence the parents' advice had on their children's job preferences. Another way of examining family influences on job choice is to measure the extent to which the family's occupational background was related to the type of work the child wished to pursue. This will also show if children whose relatives were in low status occupations were endeavouring to get a better type of job – a topic of obvious relevance to West Indians.

Although the father's job is no doubt the best general indicator of family background, the jobs of other family members are also probably pertinent. If the leaver has any older brothers or sisters in employment the sort of work they do may have some influence; and if the mother also works, it might well have a bearing especially on the daughter's interests, and particularly if the mother's job is full-time. To check on these possible influences we collected details of the occupations, not only of parents, but also of any siblings (including any step-brothers and sisters) who were in full-time employment and resident in Britain.

Firstly, in Table 5.9 we have compared the job preferences of leavers whose fathers were in skilled manual and lower manual/non-manual employment, separately for boys and girls. This shows that the father's occupation had no apparent effect on their sons' choice of jobs; boys whose fathers were in lower status jobs were equally ambitious to enter skilled manual or higher non-manual occupations as were the sons of skilled manual workers. West Indian boys, as we observed before, tended to be slightly more ambitious than Whites, in that fewer were content to aim for jobs in the lowest occupational stratum. The daughters of West Indians, like the sons, also tended to be less willing to settle for low status jobs, but unlike boys, the girls in both ethnic groups did appear to have been marginally influenced by family background, insofar as those whose fathers were skilled manual workers were slightly more likely to want to enter higher non-manual jobs.

There were relatively few white fathers, and a negligible proportion of West Indian fathers, in higher non-manual occupations (see Table 3.11). It was not possible, therefore, to reach any general conclusions about the children in such families, apart from observing that most of them wished to enter jobs in the same occupational group as their fathers'.

Table 5.10 Other family members in same occupational group as leaver's desired job by relationship to leaver and sex of leaver

Leaver wanted a job in the same occupational group as	Boys						Girls					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*	%	Base*
Father	49	154	50	137	38	51	29	142	10	120	5	55
Mother	10	41	13	68	10	48	41	46	19	72	11	44
Sibling	55	96	56	81	63	19	50	94	56	80	54	28

* *Leavers with named relative in full-time employment*

Notes (i) *It should be noted that the percentages in the above table are* not *additive as they are on different bases and also, more than one relative might have been in the same occupational group as the leaver's desired job. Hence, when say a father* and *a sibling were both doing the same kind of work as that to which the leaver aspired, this is reflected in duplicate entries – against the father and the sibling.*

(ii) *In a few instances information was incomplete about one or other member of the family (particularly for siblings no longer living in the parental home), so that the figures in the above table may be a slight underestimate.*

(iii) *See also note to Table 5.9.*

Table 5.10 shows the overall proportions of leavers whose preferred jobs were in the same occupational group as other family members in full-time employment. A half of the white and Early Migrant boys and 38% of the Later Migrant boys wanted jobs in their fathers' occupational groups. As the previous table showed, the remainder mostly wanted better jobs than their fathers had. The Later Migrant boys' fathers were more likely to have jobs in the lowest stratum, which is why their sons were less likely to wish to emulate them. It is for the same reason that we find large ethnic differences in the proportions of daughters who wished to follow in the vocational footsteps of their parents. Most girls wished to enter higher non-manual occupations, whereas most of the West Indian mothers (unlike the Whites) and virtually all the West Indian fathers, were manual (or lower non-manual) workers (see Tables 3.11 and 3.12).

The most interesting feature of the table is the relatively high proportion (50%–63%) of both boys and girls whose employed siblings were in occupational groups similar to the ones they themselves wished to enter. This is especially notable because sample sizes were not large enough to enable us to present separate figures for employed siblings of the same sex as the leaver. Had we been able to do so, the association would undoubtedly have been even more marked. This suggests that although we found many leavers wanted better jobs than their parents' – particularly amongst the West Indians – their ambitions were clearly often not without family precedents. The divergence between the proportions of parental and siblings' jobs which were in the same occupational groups as the leavers' preferred jobs is especially marked when the parents tended to be in the lowest occupational stratum. The general tendency for leavers whose parents were in low status employment to want to do better for themselves, would seem therefore to be consonant with the apparent success of others in the leavers' generation.

The parents' (and the leavers') general attitudes to work, discussed in the previous chapter, were also examined to see if they had any relevance to the leavers' choice of employment. Two significant, albeit rather predictable, associations were found. Leavers whose parents had given especial stress, in unison with their children, to the importance of vocational training, were more likely to want to enter skilled manual employment. Conversely, the small proportion of (predominantly white) leavers who wanted only lower manual/non-manual jobs were characterised by being much more concerned about being well paid than were most leavers, and by having parents who were much less likely than most to want their children to get vocational training.

Summary

Generally speaking the leavers, most of whom said they had a definite type of job in mind when they first left school, showed only relatively small ethnic differences in their choices of occupation. Two thirds of the matched pairs were aiming for jobs in the same occupational groups. Skilled manual work was by far the most popular occupation amongst boys, especially West Indians. Most girls wanted non-manual (office type) jobs, although the West Indians were also much attracted to nursing. West Indians of both sexes tended to be more ambitious than Whites in that fewer were content to aim for jobs in the lowest occupational stratum.

When the general suitability of these aspirations was examined, in terms of whether, according to the Heg Scale, leavers possessed the minimum qualifications usually required for entry to their desired occupations, it was found that West Indians had tended to be slightly less well qualified for their desired jobs. But this divergence occurred only in relation to boys who wanted to obtain skilled manual work. In both ethnic groups the people who aspired to enter higher non-manual jobs tended to be better educated and better qualified for the occupations they wanted to enter.

When the Careers Officers' assessments of the suitability of the leavers' ambitions were examined, however, it was found that the disparity in the proportions of Whites and West Indians whose ambitions were consi-

dered suitable was much greater. Comparison of the COs' assessments with the corresponding Heg Scale ratings, and with the COs' assessments of the leavers' general intelligence, showed that this was because the bias present in the COs' personal impressions of the leavers' general abilities also affected assessments of job suitability. The bias was particularly strong in relation to Later Migrants and less educated Early Migrants.

It also emerged that if the COs' opinions of the suitability of their clients' aspirations were treated as predictions of how likely it was that they would get the jobs they were after, then the COs were more likely to be right in relation to West Indians, despite the strong ethnic bias in the COs' assessments. This clearly implies that the criteria prospective employers applied when assessing the suitability of job applicants were affected by a similar ethnocentric bias. In consequence, the COs' assessments of the West Indians appeared highly realistic, but only because the COs and prospective employers viewed the West Indians from a similar ethnocentric standpoint. This has the advantage that it probably helped to avoid COs submitting West Indians for job vacancies for which they were likely to be rejected; but it also carries the danger that the CO's assessment might then become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Finally, we examined the degree to which family occupational background influenced vocational choice. Two significant conclusions emerged. Within the narrow social spectrum encompassed by our samples – being mostly composed of the children of manual workers – no association appeared between the father's occupation and the son's choice of job, although a slight association was found in relation to daughters. Leavers who came from families in which the father was in the lowest occupational stratum were generally just as ambitious as the children of skilled manual workers. The most consistent correlation was between the leavers' desired jobs and the occupations of siblings who were already in employment. This was most evident in West Indian families where the parents were more likely to have jobs in the lower stratum. This suggests that although many leavers, both Whites and West Indians, were rather over-ambitious (especially those who had very few qualifications) often leavers were doing no more than trying to emulate the success of their elder brothers and sisters.

Reference

[1] Taylor, MJ. *Caught between*. A review of research into the education of pupils of West Indian origin. NFER-Nelson, 1981. pp 178–183.

6 Careers guidance

So far, we have dealt with the leavers' general attitudes to work and the types of job they wanted to get, when they first left school. We have also discussed the general suitability of those aspirations and the degree to which family occupational background affected the child's choice of work. In the present chapter we shall turn our attention to the role played by relatives, Careers Officers and teachers in guiding the leavers toward suitable careers. Firstly, we will see whose advice appears to have had the most influence, and then we shall examine in detail the effectiveness of the counselling they received from the Careers Service and their parents.

The most influential sources of advice

We questioned both the children and their parents about who or what had prompted the leavers to aspire to enter particular occupations, and whose advice had been generally the most useful. Given the multitude of influences that impinge upon a young person, at home, and from peer groups and the media, as well as from professional advisers, we could not hope to do more than provide a fairly superficial account of what had led to leavers to their ambitions. We had to rely on asking the leavers who 'suggested or encouraged' them to take up the particular jobs they wanted when leaving school, and on parents' opinions of who 'had the greatest influence over (their son's/daughter's) choice of work.'

Our attempt was not very productive. More than a half of the leavers in all the groups said that no-one had influenced them in their ambitions. When these people were asked what then had led them to want particular jobs, very many were still unable to give a clear indication of where they had originally got their ideas from, and the remainder mentioned a variety of sources, including books, magazines and television.

The people who parents considered had exerted the greatest influence over their children's choice of employment were broadly the same as those mentioned by their children. In the following tables, therefore, we have only illustrated the children's answers, but it should be noted, especially in relation to the ethnic differences evident in the tables, that the parents' answers also showed the same divergences.

In addition to asking leavers who had influenced their choice of work, we also enquired who they considered had given them the most useful general advice about jobs. This produced a better response, in that only a little over one in five reckoned that no-one had given them any advice of value. Moreover, when the answers to the two questions were compared, certain interesting findings emerged about the nature of the guidance which leavers received from different sources (see Table 6.1)*.

As leavers often said that more than one person had influenced them toward entering their chosen occupations, the percentages in the 'suggested desired job' column of Table 6.1 are inflated, compared with those in the 'best advice' column where only one answer per respondent was possible. This has particular relevance to the influence of parents, as both the father and the mother were sometimes cited as sources of encouragement. Nevertheless, even when generous allowance is made for such 'double counting' it is clear that parents were much the most important influence on the white boys' choice of occupations. This is further borne out by the high proportion (30%) of this group who considered their parents' general advice about jobs to have been the most useful they had received. Parents (particularly fathers) were mentioned relatively less often by the West Indian boys as having influenced their job aspirations: they were also much less likely than white boys to say that their parents' general advice was the most useful they had been given. Thus, the proportion of boys whose choice of jobs was said to have been influenced by their fathers was 21% and 14%, respectively, for Whites and Early Migrants, and the corresponding proportions whose parents' advice was considered to have been generally the most useful was 30% and 19%. Similar divergences were apparent amongst girls, except that in both ethnic groups, mothers took the dominant role in counselling girls.

Table 6.1 also provides some interesting insights into the roles of the Careers Service and of teachers. It appears that teachers played a more active part in providing careers guidance to girls. Thus, whereas only 11% of white and 9% of Early Migrant boys included their teachers amongst the people who had encouraged

* Fortuitously, the separate area samples of Early Migrants had exactly the same sex ratios – both being 47% girls. This has the advantage where there are both sex *and* area differences, as in the present instance, that the 'sex effect' should not bias the area comparison, nor vice versa, although whenever such dual effects occurred we have always checked to confirm that this was so. The Later Migrants had slightly uneven sex ratios: 55% girls in London and 46% in Birmingham. For this reason they have been omitted from many of the following tables. When allowance was made for the imbalance in area sex ratios, however, it was found that Later Migrants evinced similar trends to those found amongst Early Migrants.

Table 6.1. Persons who influenced leaver to take up desired job and gave most useful general advice by sex of leaver

	Boys				Girls			
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants	
	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Father	21} 37	30	14} 27	19	17} 38	22	7} 18	14
Mother	16}		13}		21}		11}	
Other relative	9	6	9	2	8	2	6	1
Careers Officer	9	27	5	39	4	23	6	31
Teacher	11	15	9	18	21	31	18	31
Others	10	1	10	—	9	1	5	1
No one	53	20	59	21	56	22	64	23
*Base**	*185*	*197*	*191*	*197*	*165*	*176*	*170*	*176*

* *All persons who were said by leavers to have suggested/encouraged them to take up their desired occupations are included. Many cited two or more persons and, therefore, the answers total to more than 100%. Column headed, 'Best advice' relates to who, in the leaver's opinion, gave the most useful advice, and has, therefore, only one answer per respondant.*

Bases for 'Best advice' include all leavers; those for 'Suggested desired job' exclude persons who hadn't made up their minds about what they wanted to do when leaving school.

Table 6.2. Persons who influenced leaver to take up desired job and gave most useful general advice by area

	London				Birmingham			
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants	
	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice	Suggested desired job	Best advice
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Father	21} 41	32	13} 27	21	18} 36	23	9} 20	14
Mother	20}		14}		18}		11}	
Other relative	9	3	8	3	8	4	8	1
Careers Officer	5	20	7	26	7	28	5	40
Teacher	14	18	12	17	17	25	15	29
Others	14	1	9	1	7	1	7	2
No one	54	25	58	32	54	18	64	16
*Base**	*131*	*142*	*135*	*142*	*219*	*231*	*226*	*231*

* *See note to Table 6.1.*

them in their ambitions, the equivalent proportions amongst the girls were 18% and 21%. A similar sex difference occurred in relation to the value which pupils attached to the general information which their teachers gave them about jobs. On both counts, in the case of the white girls, the influence of teachers was actually greater than that of Careers Officers.

The third notable source of careers guidance – the Careers Service – was especially important to West Indians. Amongst the Early Migrants 39% of boys and 31% of girls said the COs had given them the most useful general advice, compared to 27% and 23% of the white boys and girls, respectively. For white boys, the COs' advice was rivalled by their parents', whereas, as we have already noted, their teachers' counsel was the most potent influence on the white girls. Nevertheless, in both ethnic groups, and for both sexes, the Careers Service was either the most important or the second most important source of general advice about jobs. Where the Careers Service diverged most notably from the parents and teachers was in having relatively little influence over the leavers' occupational preferences. In none of the groups do we find that more than 9% of the leavers considered that they were influenced in their choice of jobs by a Careers Officer.

Further checks confirmed that the ethnic and sex differences noted above were similar in both London and Birmingham, but in Birmingham all groups of leavers tended to have a higher opinion of their teachers' and COs' general advice about getting jobs, than did Londoners. Whereas in London 20% of Whites and 26% of West Indians thought the COs' advice was the best they had been given, in Birmingham the figures rose to 28% and 40% (see Table 6.2). Similarly, the proportions of leavers who credited their teachers with having given them the best advice increased from 18% of Whites and 17% of Early Migrants in London, to 25% and 29% in Birmingham. It is also of interest that the enhancement of the roles of professional agencies in Birmingham was associated not only with a fall-off in the influence of parents, but also with a reduction in the relative number of leavers who said that no-one had given them any advice of value. Whereas in London 25% to 32% considered this was so, in Birmingham only 16% to 18% claimed not to have received any useful advice.

The propensity of Birmingham leavers and West Indians generally to be more impressed by the counselling they received from COs is undoubtedly attributable, to a large extent, to their having needed to use the

Table 6.3 Number of interviews with Careers Officer

Number of interviews with Careers Officer	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
1	25	8	4
2	26	15	14
3	16	13	21
4–6	17	25	18
7–9	7	10	11
10 or more	8	28	32
Base (all leavers interviewed by CO)*	*348*	*357*	*131*
Average number per group	4.1	9.2	11.0

* *Excludes a few leavers for whom information was not available or who had apparently not been interviewed by a CO.*

Table 6.4 Number of interviews with Careers Officer by matched pairs

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	1	2	3	4–6	7–9	10 or more	Total
1	4%	2%	1%	2%	—	—	*27*
2	4%	4%	3%	2%	—	—	*46*
3	4%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	*43*
4–6	5%	7%	3%	6%	2%	2%	*86*
7–9	3%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	*35*
10 or more	5%	9%	5%	4%	2%	4%	*98*
Total	*83*	*91*	*54*	*59*	*22*	*26*	*Base*(=100%)* *335*

* *See footnote to Table 6.3.*

Careers Service much more because of the difficulties they had getting work (see Table 6.7 and Chapter 7). The especially heavy dependence of West Indians on the advice of COs was also in part the product of other factors which will be discussed when we examine the role of parents in more detail (see page 53).

The likelihood that their pupils would experience difficulty getting employment may also have led to Birmingham teachers taking a more active part in providing advice about jobs: although if a person was in need of advice about finding work after leaving school, assistance would have had to be sought from the Careers Service. It should be noted too that although the influence of COs on their clients' *ambitions* remained at a similar low level in both areas, teachers in Birmingham appear not only to have provided more useful general advice about jobs but also to have exerted even greater influence over their pupils' choice of careers – with a corresponding fall in the influence of relatives (see Table 6.2). This reinforces the impression that the counselling provided in schools was generally more effective in Birmingham. If this enhancement of the employment counselling role of teachers in Birmingham was in response to their pupils' greater need, however, it is significant that in neither area is there any indication that teachers responded similarly to the added difficulty experienced by their West Indian pupils. In both London and Birmingham the level of assistance afforded by teachers appears to have been similar for pupils of both ethnicities and it is the Careers Service which provided West Indians with the additional support they needed.

Intensity of use of the Careers Service

The following three tables show how often leavers of different types were interviewed by COs. They demonstrate how the variations we have just observed in the leavers' opinions of the Careers Service are reflected in the frequency with which they used its services. Table 6.3 summarises the overall situation of the Whites and West Indians and shows that on average West Indians had more than twice as many interviews as Whites. The difference is particularly striking in relation to those who had ten or more interviews: being 8%, 28% and 32% of Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively.

Matched Pairs Table 6.4 indicates that when sex, area and education are held constant only 21% of pairs (the total on the diagonal) had a similar number of interviews; the remainder being heavily concentrated in the bottom section of the table where the West Indian member of each pair had a larger number of interviews than the White. As many as 59% were in this latter situation, compared with only 20% (in the upper section) where the West Indian had fewer interviews than his or her White match.

Table 6.5 illustrates the differences in more detail. It will be observed from this table that the average number of interviews by sex and area broadly match the variations in the leavers' opinions of the COs' advice which we discussed previously. Moreover, consistently in every sub-group, West Indians had a higher average number of interviews than the corresponding Whites – particularly in the bottom educational stratum. Later Migrants are not featured in Table 6.5 as their numbers were not sufficient for the more detailed sub-divisions employed there and because of the slight imbalance in their area sex ratios alluded to earlier (see footnote to page 48). As Table 6.3 shows, however, they tended to have even more interviews than did the Early Migrants.

Types of guidance and assistance given by Careers Officers

In Table 6.6 we have examined the purposes for which these interviews were undertaken. As with the preceding table we have sub-divided the samples by sex, area and education, but have again excluded Later Migrants from the analysis for the reasons given earlier. The data on the Later Migrants, however, showed the same general patterns as for the Early Migrants.

Table 6.5 Number of interviews with Careers Officer by sex, area and educational level of leaver

Number of interviews with Careers Officer	Sex				Area				Educational level					
	Boys		Girls		London		Birmingham		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	27	6	23	10	36	10	19	7	28	9	23	4	24	12
2	27	10	25	19	33	25	22	8	20	10	29	18	34	18
3	14	13	19	14	17	21	16	8	13	12	18	13	19	17
4–6	13	26	22	25	10	29	21	24	24	24	13	28	12	24
7–9	8	11	6	10	2	9	9	10	8	10	7	11	4	11
10 or more	11	34	5	22	2	5	12	42	7	35	10	26	8	18
Base (leavers interviewed by CO)*	*187*	*190*	*161*	*167*	*127*	*130*	*221*	*227*	*142*	*146*	*126*	*134*	*80*	*77*
Average number per group	4.7	10.4	3.3	7.7	2.3	4.1	5.1	12.1	3.9	10.5	4.5	9.4	3.6	6.2

* *Excludes a few leavers for whom information was not available or who had apparently not been interviewed by Careers Officer.*

Table 6.6 Type of guidance or assistance given by Careers Officer by leaver's sex, area and educational level

Type of interview	Sex				Area				Educational level					
	Boys		Girls		London		Birmingham		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
General careers guidance only *before* leaver started employment (mostly at school)	37	8	32	24	45	22	29	11	33	10	36	15	37	27
Careers guidance *and*														
Arranging applications to employers for *first* job	59	85	60	71	50	68	64	84	62	84	59	80	56	65
Arranging *further* applications for *first* job	37	60	31	52	15	29	46	72	35	59	37	58	29	49
Arranging applications to employers for a *second* or subsequent job	13	35	15	17	8	21	17	30	19	38	10	24	11	10
Arranging an interview at another Careers Office where (more suitable) vacancies might be found	4	1	4	8	10	12	—	—	4	6	2	4	6	4
General careers guidance, or advice about current job AFTER leaver had started employment, not resulting in COs arranging fresh job applications	6	12	6	6	6	11	7	8	8	10	6	12	5	4
Other purposes	6	13	—	3	—	5	5	10	1	5	6	13	4	6
No answer	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1
*Base**	*187*	*190*	*160*	*167*	*125*	*130*	*221*	*227*	*141*	*146*	*126*	*134*	*79*	*77*

* *Excluding leavers for whom we were unable to collect information from Careers Officers and some who had apparently never been interviewed by a CO.*

NB *The columns add to more than 100% as the table records* all *the purposes for which leavers attended interviews. The only sub-group that cannot also appear under another heading is the first: viz those who had been given general careers guidance only, before starting work.*

Table 6.7 Use made of the Careers Service* by how helpful the leaver considered the Careers Officer had been

Leaver's opinion of advice/assistance given by the Careers Officer	Type of help afforded to leaver*					
	General advice only (mostly before left school)		Arranged applications for leaver's first job		Arranged *further* applications for leaver's first job	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The most useful received from any source	13	21	28	31	41	40
Not the *most* useful but generally helpful	22	26	28	31	25	22
Helpful in some ways, but not in others	11	9	4	10	5	12
Not very helpful	54	43	39	27	29	26
Base (leavers given the type of assistance cited)	*118*	*53*	*84*	*77*	*118*	*201*

* *The categories of assistance cited above differ from those given in Table 6.6, in that here each represents the* maximum *help given. Ie the second category excludes persons who returned for further assistance with getting their first jobs. However, a few of the leavers included in both the second and third categories were also helped to get other jobs, later.*

The numbers of informants who were given further (and other) types of assistance was insufficient to merit extending the table any further.

Table 6.6 demonstrates that West Indian boys were particularly reliant on the Careers Service to help them find employment. As many as 85% were assisted by COs in finding their first jobs, compared with 59% of white boys. There was also a similar (though less pronounced) divergence between the West Indian and white girls. An even sharper difference occurred in relation to arranging *further* applications for first jobs: as many as 52% to 60% of the West Indians having need of their COs' assistance for this purpose, as compared to 31% to 37% of the Whites. This, of course, is also a measure of the proportions in each group whose initial approaches to employers were rebuffed and had therefore to return to the Careers Office for further assistance.

As is to be expected from the number of interviews they had with Careers Officers (see Table 6.5), we find that both West Indians and Whites in Birmingham were more dependent on the Careers Service to help them find work, than were Londoners. The fact that 46% of Whites and 72% of West Indians in Birmingham had need to return to their COs to arrange further submissions for their first jobs is also an indication of the higher levels of unemployment and greater competition for vacancies in that area. The absence of referrals to other Careers Offices in Birmingham, compared with the 10% to 12% of such cases in London, reflects a difference in the organisation of the Careers Service in the two areas.

The final section of Table 6.6 illustrates how use of the Careers Service varied with the leaver's educational level. In both ethnic groups (but especially amongst the West Indians) the lower the leaver's level of qualifications, the more likely the person was to apply for jobs through the Careers Service, particularly in the case of second or subsequent jobs. But in all three educational strata, we find that West Indians were invariably more reliant on the assistance of COs, than were Whites of a similar level of education.

Ways in which leavers thought the Careers Officer could have been more helpful

Table 6.7 demonstrates, once again, that opinions about the usefulness of the Careers Service were closely related to how much the leavers had relied on COs to help them find work. This does not mean, of course, that those who had little contact with the Careers Service would necessarily have had a higher opinion of it if they had made more use of the services it affords. Part of the reason that many people sought and obtained jobs through other channels might have been that they were unimpressed by what the Careers Service had to offer. The especially heavy use made of the Careers Service by Birmingham leavers, West Indians and the poorly qualified, however, demonstrates its importance as a 'safety-net' for people who have more difficulty getting employment. This also, incidentally, helps to explain why West Indians appear to have attached less value to parental advice, than did Whites; in that the advice for which West Indians had a particular need was about where to get jobs – information which the Careers Officers would, in most cases, have been much better equipped to furnish, than would the leavers' parents. Nevertheless, Table 6.7 suggests that this explanation does not entirely account for the higher esteem in which West Indians held the Careers Service. The table shows that though the Whites and West Indians who had made the most extensive use of the Careers Service both tended to have a relatively high opinion of the help they had been given, when people had received less assistance in finding jobs, and especially when the COs' advice had been confined to general careers guidance, the West Indians tended to rate the COs' counselling more highly than did their White counterparts. We shall investigate a possible reason for this difference in the leavers' estimation of

their COs' advice presently. Before doing so, however, we shall review the complaints that leavers had about the Careers Service.

If leavers did not consider their COs' advice to have been the most useful they had received from any source, they were asked what they thought about the advice they had been given. Any who said that the CO could have been more helpful in some way were asked to explain the reason. Table 6.8 summarises their answers. Much the largest category of complaints (37%–38%) arose because leavers felt that the COs suggested possible job openings to them without paying sufficient heed to, or even enquiring about, what their clients wanted to do. The complaints that showed the largest ethnic divergences were those relating to the availability of suitable vacancies. The proportions who made such complaints being 19%, 23% and 33%, amongst Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants, respectively. This, as we shall see later, reflects the relative frequency with which they made fruitless visits to the Careers Offices in search of jobs (see Table 7.9).

Other complaints of a less fundamental character, relating to inadequacies in the arrangements for following up leavers to see how they were getting on in their work, the lack of variety in the jobs on offer, and the inadequacy of information about the vacancies that

Table 6.8 Ways in which leavers thought Careers Officers could have been more helpful

Ways in which leavers thought Careers Officers could have been more helpful	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Dont know/none/no ways	13	12	12
Should have paid more heed to what informant wanted to do, not suggested unsuitable jobs/found out what informant wanted to do	38	38	37
Should have shown more interest in leaver/followed up sooner/more frequently to see how leaver was getting on	15	15	10
Should have suggested/given more information about a greater variety of jobs informant could do/should have given the informant a less restricted choice	19	12	6
Should have arranged (more) interviews/given (more) addresses/had more jobs available	19	23	33
Should have explained what was involved in job/arranged visits to see what job is really like	17	12	6
Other answers	9	14	6
Base (leavers who thought Careers Officers could have been more helpful)	*146*	*181*	*49*

NB *The columns add to more than 100% because many respondents had more than one complaint.*

Table 6.9 Parents' role in advising leavers about jobs

Parents had:	Parents of: Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Encouraged their child to take a specific job	39	39	28
Not given their child any *specific* advice	61	61	72
Gone personally to see the Careers Officer	46	35	40
Not gone to the CO:			
But knew child was interviewed by him	40	42	34
And unaware child interviewed by him	13	23	26
Base (all interviewed parents)	*367*	*345*	*137*

were available, tended to be expressed more frequently by Whites.

Despite levels of satisfaction with the help received from COs being generally higher in Birmingham, complaints about the Careers Service were very similar in both areas.

The parents' role

In addition to enquiring about who had encouraged the leaver to take up his or her preferred job, we also asked if any alternative jobs had been suggested by teachers, COs or parents. By combining the answers to these two sets of questions it is possible to distinguish the parents who had suggested one or more jobs to their children, from those who confined themselves to offering general advice only. Parents were also asked what they knew about their children's interviews with a Careers Officer and also if one or more of the parents had gone personally to see the CO. Table 6.9 summarises our findings.

The proportions of parents who had made specific suggestions about the jobs their children might aim for were identical (39%) in the families of the Whites and Early Migrants, but lower, at 28%, amongst the Later Migrants' parents. Neither group of West Indian parents had taken as active interest in the advice given by the CO, as had the white parents. Not only were Whites a little more likely to have gone personally to see the CO (46%, compared with 35%–40% of the West Indians) but the proportions who were apparently unaware that their children had been advised by a CO was lower amongst Whites (13% compared with 23%–26% of West Indians). These differences are given added significance when one recalls the particular importance of the Careers Service to the West Indian children.

The same two measures are used in conjunction, in Table 6.10, to provide a rough indication of the degree to which parents were actively involved in counselling their children to enable one to see how far this might

Table 6.10 Leaver's opinion of parents' advice by degree to which parents were actively involved in counselling

Leaver's opinion of parent's advice	Whites				Early Migrants			
	If parent encouraged leaver to take a specific job				If parent encouraged leaver to take a specific job			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	If parent saw careers officer		If parent saw careers officer		If parent saw careers officer		If parent saw careers officer	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
The most useful	39	34	20	19	40	24	12	8
Other advice more useful	47	51	61	61	55	67	64	69
Neither parent's nor other advice was of any use	14	15	19	20	5	10	23	23
Base (all parents who were interviewed)	*77*	*67*	*95*	*128*	*40*	*93*	*81*	*131*
Proportion of parents so acting	21%	18%	26%	35%	12%	27%	23%	38%
Later Migrants' parents who acted similarly					11%	18%	29%	42%

explain differences in their children's evaluation of the parents' advice. The table shows that when parents had themselves been to see the CO and had also encouraged their children to aim for a specific type of occupation, the White and West Indian leavers had an equally high regard for their parents' advice: 39%–40% saying that it was the best they had received from any source. But it should be noted that relatively fewer West Indian parents had taken such an active interest: only 12%, compared to 21% of Whites.

The factor which had the strongest association with the child's opinion of the parents' advice was whether they had suggested any particular jobs, or had confined themselves to more general advice. Thus, amongst parents who had seen the CO but had not themselves made any specific recommendations to their children, the proportion whose advice was considered the most useful fell to 20% of Whites and 12% of West Indians. Parental attendance at an interview with the CO only had a notable effect in relation to West Indians. Where West Indian parents had given specific advice to their children without having consulted the CO, only 24% were credited with having given the most useful advice, compared with 34% of the corresponding group of White parents.

In consequence, when the influence of the two factors is combined, the table shows that the proportions of parents whose advice was highly regarded fell from the common high point of 39%–40%, for the most active parents, to 19% and 8%, respectively, for the white and West Indian parents who had neither seen the CO nor recommended particular jobs to their children. More than a third of the parents of the white and Early Migrant leavers were in this last category.

The number of Later Migrants was insufficient to make an equally detailed analysis of their situation, but as the figures at the foot of Table 6.10 show, their parents behaved similarly to the Early Migrants', except that they were less likely to have made specific suggestions about jobs.

Reasons for the variations in parental influence

We find that the leavers' evaluations of their parents' counsel was directly linked, amongst both Whites and West Indians, to how actively the parents concerned themselves with their children's choice of jobs (Table 6.10). The value which leavers attached to their parents' general advice was also affected, however, by how much guidance they received from other sources. West Indian and white leavers who had been helped extensively by the Careers Service to get jobs tended to rate the CO's advice fairly highly; and as West Indians were much more likely to need this kind of help, it is undoubtedly one reason for why the West Indians tended to have a relatively lower opinion of their parents' advice. But it was also found that when leavers had been given general careers guidance only by COs (that is not also assisted to find work) the West Indians tended to show a greater appreciation for the COs' advice, than did Whites (see Table 6.7). This implies that West Indians were more often in need of such guidance. It is particularly significant therefore that we find that if their parents had failed to consult with a CO, West Indian leavers were much less likely to value what their parents said. Whereas, although white parents were inclined to take more interest in the advice of COs, in practice this made little difference to their children's opinions of their parents' counsel. This, of course, might have been partly because it tended to be only the parents who needed to get professional guidance who went to see the CO. Whether or not this was so, the implication remains that West Indian parents had an especial need of professional advice about suitable job opportunities for young people, which they often failed to obtain. This is therefore a further prob-

able reason for why West Indian parents tended to have less influence over their children's choice of employment, than did white parents.

It is to be expected that immigrants, even if they have been in Britain for several years, would tend to be less familiar with the full range of jobs open to young people and with the qualifications required for entry. Differences in social class background are also likely to have had some effect, but the variety of factors which had an influence on the leavers' evaluation of their parents' advice made this difficult to assess – with the relatively small sample sizes. So far as could be determined, there were no significant class differences in how much interest the parents displayed in the COs' advice, or on how active a role parents played in advising their children over their choice of jobs. It was impracticable, however, to measure directly whether family occupational background had any effect on how valuable children found their parents' advice to be. The most obvious circumstances when it is likely to have been pertinent was when the child wished to enter an occupational group with which the parents were unfamiliar. West Indian children, Later Migrants in particular, were especially likely to want to get better jobs than their parents had – this being itself a reflection of the tendency of their parents to have lower status occupations (see Chapter 5), and it is most likely therefore that differences in family occupational backgrounds will also have contributed to making the West Indian parents less well equipped to advise their children and to need some professional guidance.

One might ask, in these circumstances, why West Indian parents did not make more use of the Careers Service, especially in view of the extent to which their children needed the assistance of COs in obtaining work. An attempt was made to see whether West Indian parents differed from Whites with respect to how much independence they expected children to display in these matters, by asking parents to what extent they thought young people should be left to make up their own minds about the jobs they should seek when leaving school. The answers of Whites and both groups of West Indians showed a high degree of agreement for the view that youngsters should largely decide these things for themselves. The main divergence was that whereas 28% of White parents said specifically that a school leaver should ask for and listen to advice before making a decision, only 17%–19% of the West Indians added this proviso. This suggests that there may have been a tendency for West Indian parents to expect their children to behave more independently and not to require so much parental guidance. It would obviously be unwise, however, to draw any firm conclusions from such sparse evidence.

Summary

Difficulties in obtaining employment led Birmingham leavers, and West Indians in both areas, to rely very much on the Careers Service to help them find suitable vacancies, and for all groups of leavers the COs constituted the first or second most important source of general information about jobs. But COs exercised relatively little influence over the leavers' ambitions. A large proportion of these young people said they had themselves decided on the jobs they wanted to get, quite independently of any direct encouragement from others, and where someone had influenced their choice of occupation it was most likely to be a parent or school teacher.

The main complaint that leavers made about the Careers Service was that COs had suggested possible jobs to them without paying sufficient heed to what their clients really wanted to do. In addition, West Indians, especially Later Migrants, were often vexed by the lack of suitable vacancies offered by the Careers Service.

West Indian parents had less influence over their children than had white parents. In both ethnic groups parents tended to be better at counselling their sons. Girls were more likely to turn to their teachers for guidance, and careers counselling in schools seems to have been especially effective in Birmingham. There appeared to be two main reasons why the West Indian parents' advice was given a relatively lower evaluation. Firstly, as their children were much more in need of the COs' assistance in getting jobs they tended to attach a relatively higher value to the COs' advice. Secondly, West Indians seem to have been less able to give their children useful advice, no doubt partly because the parents, being immigrants, had less experience of the British labour market, but also because West Indian children were more likely than Whites to want to enter different occupational groups from those in which their parents were employed. In consequence, West Indian parents required more professional guidance about the job opportunities available to young people.

Part III Starting work

7 Obtaining initial employment

Most of what we have dealt with so far has been concerned with the leavers' general background and ambitions, and with the effectiveness of the advice they were given by parents and professional counsellors. In the next three chapters we shall describe the leavers' experiences on first entering the labour market.

From our observations about the manner in which West Indians were affected by ethnocentric standards of assessment we have already been given a forewarning of some of the problems they might encounter when competing for job vacancies. We have also been given a hint of the difficulties that West Indians had getting employment by the much greater extent of their need for the assistance of the Careers Service.

In this chapter we shall examine the experiences of the various groups of leavers when they set about getting their first jobs; whether the vacancies they eventually secured were in the occupations they originally wanted to enter; and the factors which influenced their chances of success. Particular attention will again be paid to the role of the Careers Service.

Difficulties in obtaining work

Several factors are likely to affect the ease with which a leaver is able to find a job. These include the diligence with which the person goes about seeking work, the realism of his or her aspirations, how determined the person is only to accept the 'right' job and the general level of unemployment in the locality. The conscientiousness with which someone seeks work is difficult to measure directly, but some idea can be gained by ascertaining how many vacancies the person applied for and the range of methods used to find out about suitable jobs. However, the simplest general measure of the difficulty people had getting jobs is clearly the length of time it took them to do so. We shall start by examining this and then consider how the other factors mentioned contributed to the large variations both within and between the ethnic groups.

Time taken to get the first job

In addition to establishing how long it was after leaving school before people commenced work, we also checked to ensure they were actively seeking employment (or waiting to take up a vacancy for which they had been accepted) for the whole of the period. Behaviour varied a lot. Many people fixed up a job for themselves whilst still at school; others took a 'holiday' before beginning their search. The following data includes only the time spent actively looking for employment, or waiting to start it, after leaving school.

The first table compares the experiences of the matched Whites and Early Migrants, for London and Birmingham combined, and then for each area separately. The sum of the pairs on the diagonals of sections (b) and (c) of the table show that 22% of the matched pairs in London, and 25% in Birmingham, took a similar time to get work. The proportions located in the top and bottom sections indicate that in 49% of the London pairs the West Indian took longer than the White, compared to 29% where the opposite happened. The corresponding proportions in Birmingham were 55% and 20%. Hence, in both areas, but especially in Birmingham, it would appear that the West Indians had tended to have greater difficulty finding jobs.

Table 7.2 shows what lay behind these differences: giving the average times taken to get first jobs and the proportions of each group who had obtained work after certain periods had elapsed. It also includes the Later Migrants and examines the influence of education. Boys and girls are not distinguished as it was found that after controlling for education, area and ethnicity, the sex of the leaver had little or no effect.

The average figures at the foot of the table summarise the overall group differences. In both areas and at all educational levels West Indians, on average, spent at least twice as long seeking work as did Whites, and Later Migrants invariably took longer than Early Migrants. In addition, both Whites and West Indians found it harder to find employment in Birmingham. The overall averages for Whites, Early Migrants and Later Migrants in London being 1.1, 2.7 and 4.4 weeks, respectively; as compared with 2.3, 5.6 and 7.6 weeks for their counterparts in Birmingham. Only amongst Early Migrants was there a notable association between education and difficulty getting work: those in the lowest educational stratum taking 5.2 weeks on average, as against 3.9 to 4.0 weeks for the better qualified. There is less evidence of a similar and consistent trend amongst Whites or Later Migrants, although, as an examination of the figures in the main body of the table shows, in all three groups the people who took three months or more to find work tended to be less qualified.

Table 7.2 also demonstrates that 52% of Whites had already succeeded in arranging jobs for themselves before leaving school, compared with only 30% to 32% of West Indians, and that within a month, four out of five Whites had started work whereas it was not until a further month had elapsed before a similar proportion of the West Indians found jobs.

Table 7.1 Time taken by matched pairs to find first jobs

(a) All Whites and Early Migrants

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	None	<1 wk	2<4 wks	4<8 wks	8<12 wks	12+ wks	Total (Base (= 100%))
None	15% 56	8% 30	3% 10	4% 15	2% 6	% 1	118
<1 wk	10% 38	3% 11	2% 5	2% 7	1% 3	1% 2	69
2<4 wks	6% 24	2% 8	1% 4	—	1% 2	1% 5	43
4<8 wks	9% 33	4% 15	2% 6	3% 10	% 1	% 1	66
8<12 wks	5% 19	2% 6	1% 5	1% 2	1% 3	—	35
12+ wks	7% 25	1% 5	1% 3	1% 4	1% 3	1% 2	42
Total	195	75	36	38	18	11	373

(b) London sample

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	None	<1 wk	2<4 wks	4<8 wks	8<12 wks	12+ wks	Total (Base (= 100%))
None	15% 22	14% 20	4% 5	3% 4	2% 3	—	54
<1 wk	14% 20	4% 5	3% 4	2% 3	—	—	32
2<4 wks	8% 12	1% 2	1% 2	—	1% 1	—	17
4<8 wks	7% 10	5% 7	3% 4	1% 2	—	—	23
8<12 wks	1% 2	2% 3	1% 1	1% 1	1% 1	—	8
12+ wks	4% 5	1% 2	—	—	1% 1	—	8
Total	71	39	16	10	6	—	142

(c) Birmingham sample

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	None	<1 wk	2<4 wks	4<8 wks	8<12 wks	12+ wks	Total (Base (= 100%))
None	15% 34	4% 10	2% 5	5% 11	1% 3	% 1	64
<1 wk	8% 18	3% 6	2% 4	2% 4	1% 3	1% 2	37
2<4 wks	5% 12	3% 6	1% 2	—	% 1	2% 5	26
4<8 wks	10% 23	4% 8	1% 2	4% 8	% 1	% 1	43
8<12 wks	7% 17	1% 3	2% 4	% 1	1% 2	—	27
12+ wks	9% 20	1% 3	1% 3	2% 4	1% 2	1% 2	34
Total	124	36	20	28	12	11	231

The area split indicates that although Birmingham leavers who had not fixed up a job before leaving school tended to have more difficulty than the corresponding Londoners, the proportions of Whites and Later Migrants who had succeeded in arranging jobs whilst still attending school were actually a little *higher* in Birmingham. This could be because Careers Officers (whose contact with their clients began well before the latter left school) played a more active role in arranging jobs for leavers in Birmingham (see Chapter 6). It is unclear why Early Migrants appear not to have benefited similarly.

The last table in this series (Table 7.3) gives the employment status of each group at the time of interview. It shows that within six months of their leaving school, in addition to those who had yet to obtain work (1% of Whites, 3% of Early Migrants and 7% of Later Migrants) many more had obtained employment but had since left it and were currently looking for new jobs. Approximately one in five leavers had already changed their jobs at least once. In each ethnic group and in both areas the frequency was broadly similar. There was, however, a marked correlation between the propensity to change jobs and the leavers' educational level. The proportions who had already obtained fresh employment ranged from 13% of Whites and 16% of Early Migrants in the top educational stratum, to 30% and 29% in the bottom one. As will be seen later, the greater difficulty that West Indians experienced getting work when they left school was to be repeated throughout their subsequent careers (see Volume 2, Chapter 5). Consequently, we find in Table 7.3 that although their frequency of job changing was generally similar to Whites', the West Indians were more likely to be unemployed after having left a previous job: 13% of Later Migrants and 10% of Early Migrants, as compared with only 4% of Whites.

The difference in the ease with which Whites and West Indians were able to find new jobs is illustrated particularly well by the variations within each educational stratum. Although, as we noted above, the proportions who had changed jobs rose sharply as educational level fell, there is no evidence of a corresponding increase in unemployment amongst the less well educated Whites, presumably because Whites found it relatively easy to get alternative work; whereas, for Early Migrants there was a consistent correlation, at each educational level, between the frequency of job changing and the proportion who were currently looking for another job. Amongst the Later Migrants the association between frequency of job changing and consequential unemployment is less consistent. Although Later Migrants in the bottom educational stratum appear to have found fresh employment with a similar facility to the equivalent Early Migrants, the Later Migrants in the middle educational stratum appeared to have had more difficulty. Those in the top stratum are not featured in the table because their sparse numbers made the data less reliable; but it is perhaps worth observing that of the 33 in this sub-group, only one was still looking for other

Table 7.2 Time taken to find first job by leaver's educational level and area (cumulative percentages)

Time taken to find first job	All			Educational level									Area					
				Low			Medium			High*			London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants		Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%
Found before leaving school	52	32	30	50	27	23	54	33	36	54	37		50	38	27	54	28	33
1 week	72	51	52	76	48	55	71	49	51	69	55		78	60	58	70	28	45
1 month	82	62	60	83	64	61	81	58	62	81	63		89	72	66	79	55	54
2 months	92	80	75	95	80	74	88	77	75	94	81		96	88	82	91	74	67
3 months	97	89	80	97	87	77	96	89	81	99	91		100	94	86	96	86	73
6 months	99	97	90	98	95	93	99	98	89	100	98			99	95	99	96	85
Over 6 months	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		100			100	100	100	100	100
Base	*373*		*142*	*151*		*62*	*139*		*47*	*83*			*142*		*75*	*231*		*67*
Average for each group (weeks)	1.9	4.5	5.9	1.8	5.2	5.4	2.2	4.0	6.1	1.7	3.9		1.1	2.7	4.4	2.3	5.6	7.6

* *Later migrants with a high educational level are not included because of the smallness of the sample.*

NB: *Those who took more than 6 months to get their first jobs were mainly persons who did not find employment until* after *the first interview – but see also note to Table 7.3.*

Table 7.3 Employment status at first interview by educational level and area

Employment status at first interview	All			Educational level								Area					
				Low			Medium			High		London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Currently employed	95	86	80	95	78	77	94	91	77	95	94	96	89	85	94	84	73
Unemployed at 1st interview but had a job previously	4	10	13	3	16	18	4	9	15	5	4	4	9	9	4	11	18
Had not obtained a job by 1st interview*	1	3	7	2	6	5	1	1	8	—	2	1	1	5	2	4	9
Proportions who had had more than one job	21	22	22	30	29	34	17	19	17	13	16	19	25	23	22	21	22
Base (all leavers)	*373*		*142*	*151*		*62*	*139*		*47*	*83*		*142*		*75*	*231*		*67*

* *The proportions who had yet to find a job at the time of interview, in the above table, differ slightly from the proportions who took more than six months to find work (in Table 7.2) because some of the former had not been looking for employment for the whole period since leaving school (see commentary on page 56) and others were interviewed more than six months later, because they had left school before the end of term, or because they were interviewed toward the end of the field period.*

work, out of the three who had changed jobs. So far as one can tell, given their meagre numbers, therefore, apart from those in the middle educational stratum who seem to have had particular difficulty getting another job, the Later Migrants generally appear to evince the same trends in relation to the frequency of job changing and the ease with which they were able to get other employment, as did Early Migrants.

In relation to the propensity of the less qualified people to leave their first employers after only a very short time, it should not be assumed that those who had remained in their first employment were satisfied with their work. We found that many who had yet to change their jobs were also discontent with the nature of their occupations and were looking about for more congenial employment. As we shall show later, the most common reason for dissatisfaction was that people had failed to get into the occupations they had hoped for (see Chapter 9). This was particularly so with leavers who had a low standard of education who were especially prone to be ill-qualified for their desired jobs. (The factors associated with frequent job changing, and its long-term effects, are examined in detail in Volume 2, Chapters 4 and 13.) However, as the following set of tables demonstrates, the likelihood of a leaver getting the job he or she wanted was also much affected by other factors, in addition to the adequacy of the person's qualifications.

Success in obtaining desired jobs

Table 7.4 shows the number of times leavers had to apply for vacancies before they secured their desired jobs, or gave up and took jobs in alternative occupations. As one might expect, the variations in the numbers of applications made mirror the differences in the lengths of time people spent seeking work. A typical example is that whereas 28% of Whites were accepted for the first vacancy they applied for, only 15% of Early and 12% of Later Migrants were equally fortunate.

Table 7.4 Number of times applied for a job in desired occupation and if successful

	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
Had *obtained* job in desired occupation, after	%	%	%
1 application	28	15	12
2 applications	6	6	6
3–5 applications	7 }48	7 }39	4 }29
6–10 applications	5	6	4
11 or more applications	2	5	3
Had *failed* to obtain job in desired occupation after			
1 application	10	14	13
2 applications	6	8	13
3–5 applications	6 }27	10 }42	12 }52
6–10 applications	4	7	8
11 or more applications	1	3	6
Had *never applied* for a vacancy in the desired occupation	20	16	17
Had not made up mind about job wanted to do	6	2	2
Base (all leavers)	*373*	*373*	*142*

Similarly, only 7% of the 48% (one in seven) of Whites who eventually secured vacancies in their desired occupations had to make six or more attempts before they succeeded compared to approximately one in four of the equivalent West Indians. Furthermore, despite making more applications, West Indians ended up being less successful. Only 27% of the Whites tried but failed to get the jobs they wanted, compared to 42% and 52% of Early and Later Migrants, respectively.

A surprisingly large number had never in fact applied for vacancies in their preferred occupations. The causes were similar in all three groups: about a third had eventually concluded that their qualifications were inadequate and most of the remainder comprised people who appeared not to have been very committed to their original aspirations and subsequently had second thoughts, or simply seized upon other opportunities which happened to be brought to their attention. Further analysis showed that this was more likely to have occurred in London. Whereas, for example, in Birmingham only 15% of Whites and 13% of Early Migrants had behaved in this way, amongst the corresponding groups in London the proportions rose to 28% and 20%, respectively. As Londoners generally found it easier to get work the reason they gave up more readily is unlikely to be that it was actually harder to find suitable vacancies in their preferred occupations. The explanation may be connected with the tendency for Londoners to make less use of the Careers Service (see pages 65–68).

In all other respects the number of applications made for jobs reproduced the same educational and area trends as were illustrated previously in relation to the time taken to get work, and again no significant differences emerged between the sexes. Girls (especially Whites) however tended to be more successful getting the jobs they wanted.

It was found earlier that West Indians had tended to be slightly less well equipped for the jobs they were aiming for: 42%–45% being rated as qualified for their desired jobs, compared to 51% of Whites (see Table 5.7). It is therefore necessary to try to determine to what extent this contributed to their difficulties.

The importance of having adequate qualifications

Table 7.5 shows, for qualified and under-qualified applicants separately, how success in getting a desired job was related to the number of applications made. This way of presenting the data enables us to eliminate the effects of the difference in the adequacy of people's qualifications when measuring the relative difficulty they experienced obtaining work. The table shows that overall 73% of the qualified Whites got what they wanted, compared to 63% and 55% of qualified Early and Later Migrants: the corresponding rates for under-qualified applicants being 49%, 34% and 20%. Similar differences between Whites and West Indians occur throughout the table at nearly every frequency of application. The lower success rates of the West Indians

Table 7.5 Relationship between number of applications for, and rates of success in obtaining, desired jobs by applicant's academic suitability for job

Number of times applied for desired job	If leaver qualified for desired job on Heg Scale											
	Yes						No					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	%	(% successful)	%	(% successful)	%	(% successful)	%	(% successful)	%	(% successful)	%	(% successful)
Once	52	(79)	31	(76)	29	(80)	50	(57)	41	(34)	33	(33)
2–5 times	31	(63)	35	(56)	39	(50)	35	(39)	41	(31)	47	(13)
6 or more	17	(69)	34	(60)	31	(38)	16	(45)	18	(39)	20	(31)
Average success rate		(73)		(63)		(55)		(49)		(34)		(20)
Base (those who had applied for desired job at least once)	*150*		*148*		*51*		*127*		*157*		*64*	

were clearly in no way due to a lack of determination as they tended invariably to have made more applications than the equivalently qualified Whites.

It is apparent, therefore, that although West Indians were slightly less adequately qualified for the jobs they were seeking than were Whites, this was by no means the only cause of their difficulties. West Indians, especially Later Migrants, found it harder to secure vacancies in their preferred occupations even when fully suitable. They were particularly disadvantaged, however, when their qualifications were below the norm for the jobs they were after. The relative difference that the possession of good qualifications conferred on a job applicant can be measured by expressing the success rate of under-qualified applicants as a proportion of the rate for the qualified, in each group. For Whites this works out at 0.67 (49/73), whereas for Early and Later Migrants the equivalent proportions are 0.54 and 0.36 indicating that for Whites the lack of good qualifications reduced a person's chances of getting a job by about a third, on average, whereas an Early Migrant's chances fell by about a half, and a Later Migrant's by about two thirds. This is obviously a very rough approximation as it does not take account of the extent to which people were under-qualified. It is most unlikely, however, that West Indians could really have been so much more under-qualified than Whites, in view of the broad similarity of the aspirations of each group, their educational matching and the narrow range of qualifications possessed by the majority of leavers. This is a point of some importance, as it implies that although the realism of West Indian aspirations (in terms of their academic suitability) was only a little below that of Whites' this minor divergence turned into a considerable handicap, because of the tendency for under-qualified West Indians to fare especially badly.

It should also be noted that although adequately qualified Early Migrants were nearly as successful as were equivalent Whites, the possession of adequate qualifications was by no means a guarantee of equal opportunities for Later Migrants; despite the Later Migrants having made much greater efforts, the chance that a Later Migrant would get a job for which he or she was academically suited was only a little greater than that of a White with less adequate qualifications (Table 7.5).

The relatively small difference between the success rates of adequately qualified and ill-qualified Whites (Table 7.5) also calls for some explanation. The figures are based on the sample of leavers who had applied at least once for their desired jobs, but as was remarked earlier, those who had never applied for their desired jobs were often people who were under-qualified for them. If success rates are re-based on the total sample who had a definite idea of what they wanted to do when first leaving school – as in Table 7.6(a) – the relative difference is increased. But the main reason for the high level of success of ill-qualified White applicants is the method used to determine the level of education usually required for entry to each occupation. Earlier we found that it was only with better educated Whites that a CO's assessment of a leaver's desired job showed a close correspondence with its Heg Scale rating. In relation to less educated White leavers, COs appeared to be much more lenient than the Heg Scale. Further checks showed that COs had indeed tended to be over-optimistic about the prospects of the latter group, but that leavers nevertheless had more success in getting the jobs they wanted than the Heg Scale ratings would have led one to expect (see Chapter 5). As noted previously, one reason was probably that many of the occupations in which leavers were interested were of the kind in which good qualifications were desirable, but not essential. The less well qualified person applying for such a job might therefore stand a reasonable chance of securing it, even though his or her educational level was not up to the standard supposedly required.

It is also important to remember that at the time our samples of leavers first entered the labour market, the general level of unemployment was relatively low (see Volume 2, Chapter 5, pages 6–8), job vacancies fairly plentiful, and well-qualified applicants in much demand. In these circumstances, those school leavers whose qualifications were somewhat below the stan-

Table 7.6 Success in obtaining a job in desired occupation by (a) leaver's academic suitability for job and (b) leaver's educational level

Alternative bases	(a) Proportions who got their desired jobs, amongst those who were:					
	Qualified (on Heg Scale)			Under-qualified		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) All who had a definite job in mind when leaving school	61	58	47	36	26	16
(ii) Those who had applied for desired job at least once	73	63	55	49	34	20
Bases (i)	*180*	*163*	*59*	*170*	*200*	*80*
(ii)	*150*	*148*	*51*	*127*	*157*	*64*

	(b) Proportions who got their desired jobs, amongst those whose educational level was:								
	Low			Medium			High		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) All who had a definite job in mind when leaving school	44	32	18	53	42	38	55	51	39
(ii) Those who had applied for desired job at least once	57	43	22	67	48	46	67	56	45
Bases (i)	*130*	*147*	*61*	*149*	*137*	*45*	*73*	*80*	*33*
(ii)	*100*	*111*	*49*	*118*	*122*	*37*	*61*	*73*	*29*

dard customarily required for the occupations they were aspiring to enter might still stand a fairly good chance of acceptance, in the absence of better qualified candidates. As we remarked earlier, the Heg Scale being a standardised measure, cannot by its nature cater for such lowering of standards in response to market forces (see Chapter 5). This is, therefore, probably a further reason for why people who were adjudged on the Heg Scale as being ill-qualified for entry to the occupations they were seeking were, nevertheless, often successful in getting what they wanted – particularly if they were *Whites*.

The effects of discriminatory practices

The varying fortunes of White and West Indian leavers when seeking employment must be largely a reflection of the way job applicants were assessed and selected by prospective employers. Their differential success rates provide, therefore, a further opportunity to test our earlier inference that the standards of assessment adopted by prospective employers appeared to replicate the way in which leavers were viewed by their Careers Officers (see Chapter 5). For this purpose we have analysed the success rates of each group of leavers by their educational levels – see Table 7.6(b). The figures on base (i) in the table relate to all leavers who had a desired job and therefore include many for whom we did not have COs' assessments of their preferred occupations. This data therefore also allows us to test whether our earlier findings hold true for all leavers who had a definite job in mind when leaving school.

We found previously that although at each educational level there was little difference, on the Heg Scale, between the adequacy of the Whites' and Early Migrants' qualifications for their desired jobs, the COs tended to rate the suitability of less educated Whites' ambitions much above the equivalent Early Migrants'. The COs assessments of the better educated Early Migrants showed much less evidence of bias. If employers behaved similarly we should expect to find that the Early Migrants' success rates would tend to improve as their educational level rose and that the divergence between the successfulness of Whites and Early Migrants would be relatively smaller in the top educational stratum. Table 7.6(b) confirms that this was in fact the case. The association between educational level and success in fulfilling occupational aspirations is notably less pronounced amongst Whites, it being only when we come to those in the lowest educational stratum (many of who had no qualifications of any kind) that we find a notable decline in the proportions who managed to get jobs they wanted. As many of the latter, despite their poor educational standards, had hoped to get skilled manual jobs, it is understandable they were often disappointed (see Chapter 5).

We should also expect to find (if employers' attitudes were similar to those of COs) that unlike Early Migrants, the well-educated Later Migrants would be much less successful than equivalent Whites. This again we find to be so. The sample numbers of Later Migrants are especially small in the top two educational strata, but the table shows that consistently at every educational level the Later Migrants were much less successful than Whites.

The significance of these findings is further reinforced by the earlier evidence that under-qualified West Indian job applicants tended to do especially badly, compared to similarly under-qualified Whites. For this is pre-eminently the situation – when employers need

to make a personal judgement whether the applicant has the ability to do the job, despite his or her dubious qualifications – when one would anticipate ethnocentric bias to be most manifest.

It is hardly surprising, given the ample evidence available from other research, that we should have found that the leavers appeared to have been affected by discriminatory recruiting practices[1]. The particular value of the findings from this study are in relation to the inferences that may be drawn as to some of the reasons employers often appear to have discriminated against West Indians. One of the reasons that COs were asked to give a detailed account of their personal impressions of each of their clients, was so that we could use this information as an indication of the impression the leaver might make upon prospective employers. It was obviously impracticable to determine this directly by interviewing all the employers to whom a leaver applied for a job. Given the Careers Officer's professional knowledge of the labour market and the standards required by different firms in his locality, his opinion about a leaver's suitability for the job he or she wanted is probably the best general indicator one could get of the way in which an employer would be likely to respond when the leaver applied to him for work.

It was shown earlier that the COs' impressions of their clients' general abilities were much affected by an ethnocentric bias which in turn influenced the assessments of their clients' suitability for jobs. If professional counsellors in the Careers Service are prone to such misjudgements, for the reasons described earlier in this report, it is very probable that the same factors would have influenced employers, when the COs' clients applied for job vacancies. That this does in fact appear to be largely true has now been illustrated in two ways. Earlier, it was shown that, despite their bias, the COs' assessments of the 'suitability' of the West Indian clients' job aspirations were a relatively accurate prediction of the likelihood that their clients would get the jobs they were after. It has now also been demonstrated that when we examine the experiences of the whole sample (including leavers for whom we do not have COs' assessments) we again find that employers selection procedures appear to have displayed the same pattern of bias as was evinced by COs. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the factors shown previously to have influenced the Careers Officers' judgements must also have had a strong influence on the behaviour of employers.

Table 7.7 General methods used to find jobs by sex of leaver

	Boys		Girls	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
(a) Had tried to find job(s)* through:	%	%	%	%
Formal channels (ie adverts, agencies or by applying direct to employers) *and* by using personal contacts	37	47	30	31
Formal channels only	55	51	62	65
Others (mostly jobs arranged *before* left school through COs or personal contacts)	8	2	8	3
(b) All who had:				
Looked at advertisements	69%	85%	82%	88%
Enquired at agencies or applied direct to employers	86%	95%	80%	92%
Asked a friend/ relative etc to help them	40%	47%	31%	32%
Base (all leavers)	*197*		*176*	

* *At any time up to the first interview, 6 months after leaving school*

Methods used to find employment

Given the lengthy time it often took West Indians to find jobs and the difficulty that many experienced in getting the type of work they wanted, it is pertinent to enquire into the methods they used to seek employment. In addition to finding out how they got their present or most recent jobs, we also asked about all the methods each leaver had used and how frequently. Table 7.7 summarises our findings about the variety of methods used by each group, separately for boys and girls. Area and education were found not to have had any appreciable effect on the methods employed, although as we shall show presently, there was a relationship between these factors and the methods that actually proved fruitful judging from the proportions of jobs secured by each method.

Table 7.7 presents the data in two alternative forms. Part (a) illustrated the frequencies with which various combinations of methods were used; whilst Part (b) indicates the relative importance of the principal methods, individually. As patterns of behaviour were very similar in both West Indian groups, for simplicity of presentations, we have confined the table to Whites and Early Migrants.

Table 7.7 demonstrates that a large proportion of people in each group had looked at adverts, gone to agencies, or approached employers directly to ascertain if they had any suitable vacancies, but that White boys made relatively less use of adverts, than did other people. Personal contacts were resorted to less frequently, although boys generally made more use of them, than did girls. it should be added, however, that practically everyone who had asked a friend or relative for assistance had used other methods as well.

West Indians, of both sexes, had tended to use agencies more frequently than Whites: this being a reflection of their greater dependence on the Careers Service, rather than a greater use of private agencies. West Indian boys had in fact generally used all methods of job search more intensively than had white boys. Nearly a half (47%) of West Indian boys said they had used the

Table 7.8 How current/last job was found by sex, educational level, occupational group and area

How current/last job was found	Sex				Educational level					
	Boys		Girls		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Answering advertisement	13	9	21	15	15	6	20	15	24	23
Careers service	38	62	25	49	32	65	32	54	30	43
Private agency	2	2	11	11	5	5	8	6	7	9
With help of a friend/relative	22	15	20	11	22	13	18	12	22	12
Direct application to employer	17	7	15	8	20	6	15	10	11	6
Other means	6	2	6	3	6	1	5	1	6	5
Insufficient information	—	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	—	1
Base (leavers who had had a job by the first interview)	*193*	*193*	*175*	*168*	*148*	*142*	*137*	*138*	*83*	*81*

	Occupational Group						Area			
	Upper non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/ non-manual		London		Birmingham	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Answering advertisement	25	9	15	13	10	7	20	14	18	13
Careers service	25	46	39	64	38	60	30	46	32	62
Private agency	12	14	—	1	1	1	10	12	4	2
With help of a friend/relative	18	6	22	15	24	19	19	12	21	13
Direct application to employer	14	9	16	6	22	6	13	9	18	6
Other means	6	3	6	1	3	3	6	1	5	3
Insufficient information	—	3	1	1	1	4	1	5	1	1
Base (leavers who had had a job by the first interview)	*190*	*141*	*110*	*147*	*68*	*73*	*141*	*140*	*227*	*221*

whole range of methods open to them, compared with 37% of the Whites. Excepting for the tendency of West Indian girls to visit agencies more frequently, the general range of methods used by girls were very similar in both ethnic groups.

It was also found that the average number of occasions when each method had been used was invariably higher amongst West Indians than amongst the corresponding group of Whites.

It is apparent, therefore, that the difficulties West Indians had obtaining employment were not attributable to their relying disproportionately on particular methods of finding a job – for instance, on the Careers Service only. They clearly had explored other ways just as assidiously as had their White peers. The differences that are evident in Table 7.8 in the methods by which employment was ultimately obtained, can be taken, therefore, as an approximate indication of the relative ease with which West Indians could obtain jobs through each channel.

Channels through which employment was actually obtained

The relative fruitfulness of different methods of obtaining work was found to be contingent on a variety of factors: sex, education, occupational group and area. Table 7.8 shows, however, that the role of the Careers Service as a provider of employment for West Indians was by far the most important influence. Thus, although the West Indians' propensity to obtain jobs through the Careers Service decreased as their educational levels rose, the best qualified West Indians still got more of their jobs this way than did the least educated Whites. Similarly, for sex, occupational group and area: we find in each instance that the lowest frequency recorded for West Indians is invariably greater than the highest White frequency. The West Indians' greater reliance on the Careers Service was especially pronounced in Birmingham where nearly two thirds obtained jobs that way, compared to only one third of Whites. (The significance of this area difference is discussed further on page 68.) However, although the influence of the Careers Service was less over-whelming in the case of the White leavers, it was still generally their most important single source of employment.

Advertisements proved more useful to girls – especially the Whites – and to better educated leavers generally. This is also reflected in the importance of advertising as a source of upper non-manual jobs, as these were also more likely to be sought by well qualified leavers, and particularly by girls; similarly with private employment agencies – as nearly all the jobs obtained in this way were in higher non-manual occupations. The Careers Service was much more likely to be the avenue to skilled manual and lower status manual/non-manual jobs.

The difficulties that West Indians had apparently experienced in obtaining work through non-official channels was particularly pronounced in relation to personal contacts and direct applications to employers (a source of employment that proved especially fruitful to the less qualified Whites). But the better their level of qualifications, the less pronounced were the differences between the Whites and Early Migrants, particularly in relation to obtaining jobs through advertisements. It is mainly in respect to their success in securing employment through personal contacts that we find, *at all educational levels*, the Early Migrants tended to fare much less well than did Whites.

The role of the Careers Service

We have already observed in the previous chapter, when examining the ways in which COs had assisted the leavers, that West Indians tended to visit a CO more frequently and had to be resubmitted for further job vacancies much more often than Whites*. Table 7.9 confirms our earlier findings. Its main value is that it shows exactly how often West Indians had to be resubmitted, as compared with Whites. It also records the average number of occasions when COs were unable to offer their clients any suitable employment. In addition, we have included the data given in the previous chapter on the average number of times leavers saw a CO, for comparison.

Table 7.10 illustrates how successful the COs were in placing leavers in their desired occupations, or into alternative jobs, compared with the results of the leavers' own endeavours to find work through other avenues. It shows that although Whites were less likely to get jobs through the Careers Service, when they did so they were more successful, than were West Indians, in getting what they wanted. The table also demonstrates that Whites were equally successful in securing vacancies in their preferred occupations when they got jobs with the help of COs, as when they obtained work through other channels. Later Migrants were a little more likely to get what they wanted when they obtained jobs through the Careers Service, whereas Early Migrants fared better when they obtained employment in other ways.

The cross-break by sex shows that it was the girls who were the most successful in securing jobs in their desired occupations, although amongst the Early Migrants the difference is fairly marginal. As girls were much more likely to be adequately qualified for the jobs they were after they ought to have been more successful; the only cause for surprise is that the difference in the success rates of boys and girls was not greater, particularly in the case of the Early Migrants (see Table 5.7). The recent immigrants have not been included in the table as it was found that the divergencies between the sexes followed the same pattern as for Early Migrants – except that, of course, Later Migrants of both sexes tended to be less successful.

Table 7.10 also shows (as we observed earlier) that the lower the Early Migrants' levels of education the more likely they were to get their jobs through the Careers Service, but that the vacancies they secured thereby tended increasingly to be in occupations of a different type to what they had been aiming for. Early Migrants who found employment in other ways (and Whites regardless of how they obtained their jobs) also tended to display a similar association between educational standards and success in entering their preferred occupations, but to a much lesser extent.

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* See Chapter 6. It should be noted that Later Migrants have been included in the area analysis on this occasion (unlike in the corresponding earlier tables) because of the need to illustrate the much greater dependence of West Indians on the Careers Service, in Birmingham. The reader needs to be cautioned, however, in relation to the figures given for London Later Migrants. As there was a higher proportion of girls in the London sample of Later Migrants, the averages – particularly for numbers of interviews and fruitless visits – for Later Migrant Londoners are not strictly comparable with those for the other two groups in London. Because girls generally used the Careers Service less intensively, the figures given for London Later Migrants are deceptively low. This complication did not arise in Birmingham because there the sex ratios were similar in all three groups (see footnote to page 2, in Chapter 6).

Table 7.9 Average number of interviews with the Careers Officer, job submissions by the Careers Officer and fruitless visits to Careers Office by sex, educational level and area

	All			Sex				Educational level						Area					
				Boys		Girls		Low		Medium		High		London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
(A) Average number of personal interviews with the CO	4.1	9.2	11.0	4.7	10.4	3.3	7.7	3.9	10.5	4.5	9.4	3.7	6.2	2.3	4.1	4.7	5.1	12.1	17.1
(B) Average number of vacancies for which submitted*	4.0	6.5	7.4	4.8	6.6	3.3	6.4	3.7	6.7	4.4	6.9	3.9	5.4	1.8	2.8	2.2	4.9	8.3	12.4
Average number of occasions when no vacancies could be offered§	1.5	3.5	4.6	2.2	4.2	0.6	2.8	1.3	4.1	1.9	3.6	1.0	2.2	0.4	0.9	0.9	2.0	4.8	7.6
Bases†																			
(A) (leavers who were interviewed by a CO)	*345*	*354*	*129*	*186*	*188*	*159*	*166*	*141*	*145*	*125*	*134*	*79*	*75*	*125*	*128*	*64*	*220*	*226*	*67*
(B) (leavers who went to CO to obtain assistance in finding jobs)	*224*	*300*	*110*	*117*	*174*	*107*	*126*	*94*	*132*	*80*	*113*	*50*	*55*	*68*	*79*	*52*	*156*	*201*	*58*

* *Vacancies of which leavers had been notified/for which application arranged by the Careers Officer excluding persons who had* not *gone to the CO for help of this kind.*
§ *When no vacancies were available which the CO considered suitable or which the leaver was prepared to accept. Excluding leavers who did not go to the CO for assistance of this kind.*
† *Excluding those leavers about whom we were unable to collect information from the careers service.*

Table 7.10 Current/last job: whether in desired occupation and obtained through Careers Service by sex, educational level and area

Current/last job obtained:	All			Sex				Educational level						Area					
				Boys		Girls		Low		Medium		High		London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Through the Careers Service																			
In desired occupation	16	21	18	16	21	15	21	13	18	17	22	17	23	13	18	17	17	23	18
In another occupation*	17	35	34	22	42	11	26	20	44	16	33	13	20	19	26	28	16	40	42
Through other channels																			
In desired occupation	32	18	11	26	16	38	20	27	12	32	19	40	27	33	22	12	31	16	10
In another occupation*	35	22	30	34	18	35	28	38	19	34	24	30	27	35	32	37	34	17	21
Had not obtained a job by the first interview	1	3	7	2	2	1	5	2	6	1	1	—	2	1	1	5	2	4	9
Base (all leavers)	*373*		*142*	*197*		*176*		*151*		*139*		*83*		*142*		*75*	*231*		*67*

* *Including some who were unsure of what they wanted to do when leaving school.*

The reason so many Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum had obtained employment through the Careers Service, despite its being such an unpromising channel through which to obtain vacancies in their preferred occupations, is undoubtedly because they had more difficulty, than equivalent Whites, in getting jobs in other ways. Also, in common with their White counterparts, many of the less educated Early Migrants were under-qualified for their desired occupations; this, as we observed earlier, was a particular handicap for West Indians, with the result that even when they obtained employment with the help of the Careers Service they were less likely to get the jobs they wanted.

Turning now to the area differences, we find that although Birmingham leavers took much longer to find work and in consequence made more intensive use of the Careers Service (see Table 7.9), they were generally just as successful as Londoners in getting jobs in their preferred occupations. But whereas Whites in both Birmingham and London were equally likely to have obtained their jobs through the Careers Service, the likelihood of West Indians doing so was much affected by where they lived. Thus in both areas a third of the Whites got their jobs with the help of the Careers Officers, compared with 44%–45% of London West Indians and 60%–63% of West Indians in Birmingham. In addition, a relatively higher proportion of the jobs that the West Indians obtained through the Careers Service in Birmingham were not in the occupations they had wanted.

When jobs are generally harder to get (as in Birmingham) there seems no obvious reason why the Careers Service should be a more effective avenue to employment than any other, as is demonstrated by the similarity of the experiences of the White leavers in the two areas. The Whites and Early Migrants were matched on age, sex, education and locality of residence; were assisted by the same Careers Officers; and had sought for broadly similar jobs through an equally wide range of methods. It is difficult to see, therefore, how there can be other than one explanation for the relatively higher proportions of jobs obtained through the Careers Service by West Indians in Birmingham. Namely, that when leavers have greater difficulty getting jobs and prospective employers are able to be more selective, West Indians are particularly disadvantaged and West Indian dependence on the assistance of the Careers Service is even further accentuated.

This last finding is of especial interest. The period when these young people were leaving school in search of work (1971/72) was one of relatively low unemployment. Also although White leavers found it somewhat harder to get work on leaving school in Birmingham, the area difference was fairly small: average times spent seeking work being 1.1 weeks in London and 2.3 weeks in Birmingham (Table 7.2). These periods are negligible as compared with the problems experienced by school leavers in later years when general unemployment rose to much higher levels (see Volume 2, Chapter 5). However, although the increased difficulty finding work experienced by White leavers in Birmingham in 1971/72 was relatively small, the accompanying effects on the fortunes of West Indians in Birmingham appear to have been quite large. This is consistent with other evidence that West Indians are particularly affected by rises in general unemployment (see reference 12 in Chapter 1).

This is an appropriate moment to re-emphasise that as the discriminatory practices, ethnocentric standards of assessment, and other constraints on job opportunities described here, pertain to a period of relatively low job competition, there can be little doubt that they are more or less enduring features of the labour market. Furthermore, as the effects of these constraints appear to increase with levels of general unemployment, the problems that West Indians had at the time of our survey must be close to the minimal level of disadvantage they are likely to encounter.

Summary

There was considerable variation in the length of time it took leavers to find work when leaving school: the average Early Migrant took over twice as long as a White, and a Later Migrant, on average, took three times as long. A half of the Whites, but only a third of the West Indians, had arranged jobs for themselves before they left school, and within a month four out of five Whites had found jobs; but it was not until a month later that a similar proportion of Early and Later Migrants had done so. Less qualified leavers tended to have more difficulty getting employment, as did Birmingham leavers generally.

An average of one in five leavers had already changed jobs within six months of leaving school; rapid job changing being especially common amongst the less qualified. As when seeking their first jobs, people in Birmingham, and West Indians in general, tended to take longer to find alternative employment.

The varying degrees of difficulty people had getting work, as demonstrated by the length of time it took them to do so, were echoed again in the number of vacancies they had to apply for before being accepted. Despite making more applications than did Whites, West Indians (especially Later Migrants) were also generally less successful in securing vacancies in their preferred occupations.

Providing the person was persistent, an Early Migrant who was adequately qualified for his or her desired job stood nearly as good a chance of getting it as did a qualified White applicant. But if an applicant's qualifications were below standard the person's chances of being accepted were greatly enhanced if he or she was White. Success rates also tended to increase, and the difference between the rates for Whites and Early Migrants to diminish, as the leavers' educational levels rose. Later Migrants were much less successful at all

educational levels: the chance that a Later Migrant would get a job for which he or she was adequately qualified being little more than that of an under-qualified White applicant.

The manner in which employers appeared to have discriminated against West Indians revealed a pattern of bias markedly similar to that found amongst Career Officers; reinforcing our earlier conclusion that the employers' assessments of the suitability of job applicants appear to have been much affected by factors similar to those shown earlier to have influenced the judgement of Careers Officers.

Alternative avenues for obtaining work had been explored by West Indians at least as thoroughly as by Whites, but West Indians (especially those in Birmingham) had much more success through the Careers Service, and were less likely than were Whites to get work through advertisements, direct applications to employers, or through the help of friends and relatives. However, the greater difficulty that West Indians appear to have had getting jobs in these other ways tended to diminish as the leavers' educational standards rose particularly in relation to obtaining work through answering advertisements.

Girls generally made less intensive use of the Careers Service, than did boys, and obtained more of their jobs through advertisements and private agencies. As they were generally better qualified for the jobs they wanted, girls (especially the Whites) were also more likely to succeed in securing vacancies in their preferred occupations.

As all leavers in Birmingham tended to have more difficulty finding work they all made more use of the Careers Service. But as COs had as much difficulty finding them jobs as the leavers had when they tried to get work through other channels, the final effect was that although it took them longer to find employment, Whites in Birmingham obtained a similar proportion of their jobs through the Careers Service as did their counterparts in London. West Indians in Birmingham, however, were much more dependent on the Careers Service finding them jobs as compared with London West Indians. This was probably because when leavers had more difficulty getting work (as in Birmingham) and prospective employers were able to be more selective, discrimination against West Indian applicants was especially acute. This is further borne out by the particularly wide divergence in the time it took Whites and Early Migrants to find work in the Birmingham area.

Reference

[1] Smith, D. *Racial disadvantage in Britain: The PEP Report*. Penguin, 1977. Part 2, pp 64–109.

8 Jobs six months after leaving school

The occupations to be discussed here are those which our informants had at the time of interview, or if they were then unemployed, the last ones they had. Very few had yet to find work of some kind and about one in four had already changed their jobs at least once (Table 7.3).

In the last chapter we described the amount of difficulty and degree of success each group had in getting the particular jobs they wanted. Here we shall be examining jobs in broader terms; concentrating now on whether the jobs they obtained were suitable (in terms of the leavers' educational attainments) and if their employment was of a similar *general type and/or level* to that which the leavers had originally aimed for.

We have assessed the leavers' occupations in a variety of ways, but the forms of classification available for the purpose are necessarily very simplified and somewhat arbitrary, and can give only an approximate idea of what the work was really like. (The wide variation in the level of qualifications for entry to 'skilled manual' jobs, illustrated in Table 8.4, is a good example.) One cannot tell, for instance, from the very broad classifications used here, how the training facilities or opportunities for advancement in one job compared with those of another one of a similar type. For this we have to rely on other information given by leavers, which will be reviewed in the following chapter. Our informants' varying expectations will naturally have influenced their reactions to what they found and so their views are a measure of personal attitudes as well as of their actual conditions of employment. Consequently, the formal classifications deployed in this chapter and the personal assessments reviewed in the next, each have their disadvantages. What now follows should, therefore, be regarded as the initial stage of a two-part analysis, the final conclusions to which will only emerge after we have also taken a closer look at jobs from the employees' standpoint.

How closely jobs corresponded to what leavers wanted

It was observed in the previous chapter that providing they were adequately qualified for the jobs they wanted that the Early Migrants were nearly as successful in achieving their ambitions as were equivalent white leavers, but that under-qualified job applicants stood a better chance of being accepted if they were white. Table 8.1 now shows whether people who had failed to realise their original ambitions had managed nevertheless to get jobs in occupations similar to the ones they had hoped to enter. As might be expected, much depended on whether they had been adequately qualified for the jobs they had originally wanted. Providing the jobs they had first aimed for were suitable, relatively few (15%–16%) of the Whites or Early Migrants had eventually to accept employment in a different occupational group. Similarly well-qualified Later Migrants fared much worse, with 29% having to accept work of a different type. More than a third of the West Indians and 28% of the Whites whose original aims were less suitable had also ultimately to accept jobs in a different occupational group. But many others who had been under-qualified for their preferred occupations were able to find jobs in related occupations with lower entry requirements (see page 71).

The next two tables contrast the occupational and socio-economic grouping of the jobs leavers obtained, with their original aspirations. Table 8.2 shows that all three groups of boys had some difficulty getting skilled manual employment and that many had to resign themselves to lower manual/non-manual work. Most girls had wanted jobs in the higher non-manual group but West Indians were much less successful in getting them, particularly the Later Migrants, a third of whom had to reconcile themselves to lower stratum manual/non-manual occupations. It would appear that Whites of both sexes found it relatively easier to get higher non-manual work. Whereas more Whites entered this type of employment than had originally intended to, many West Indians who had wanted such jobs were unable to obtain them. This has less significance than it might seem to have, however, as Table 8.3 shows that most of these 'white collar' jobs were of a relatively low standard – being largely in junior non-manual (office or shop type) employment. Very few boys or girls managed to enter intermediate non-manual occupations although many of the girls had tried to. The table also shows that although in both areas junior non-manual jobs were obtained more frequently by Whites, both White and West Indian Londoners appear to have found it easier to get this kind of work as compared with leavers in Birmingham who were generally much more likely to enter manual occupations. This, no doubt, is simply a reflection of the relative availability of each type of employment in the two areas.

Tables 8.2 and 8.3 suggest, however, that the greater facility with which Whites appeared to have been able to obtain jobs in non-manual occupations does not seem to have been repeated with skilled manual jobs. If the proportions of boys who obtained such jobs is expressed as a percentage of the proportion wanting them (in Table 8.3) it shows that 77% of Whites, 84% of

Table 8.1 How close leaver got to obtaining desired job by whether academically suited for it

Leaver's current last job was:	If leaver academically suited for desired job*					
	Yes			No		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Same as desired job	61	61	50	37	27	18
Not desired job, but was in the same occupational group	23	22	20	35	37	47
In different occupational group to the desired job	15	16	29	28	34	36
Insufficient information	1	1	1	0	2	—
Base (All who had had a job and a definite ambition when leaving school)	*178*	*154*	*56*	*168*	*193*	*73*

* *As assessed on the Heg Scale*

The above table excludes people who had yet to obtain a job of any kind. As such persons were more numerous in the West Indian groups it tends to give a more favourable impression of the relative success with which West Indians had secured jobs in their preferred occupations compared with Table 7.6.

Early Migrants and 75% of Later Migrants were in fact successful. This may seem surprising, considering how frequently West Indians (particularly Later Migrants) had to accept alternative employment to what they had really wanted. The explanation, of course, is that although they may have failed to enter the occupations of their choice they often managed to get other employment of a similar kind – as was demonstrated in Table 8.1. The question that then arises, is whether these alternative occupations were of a similar standing.

Table 8.4 provides the answer, by giving the level of qualifications usually required for entry to the skilled manual jobs obtained by each of the groups. Most of these jobs were occupied by boys, of course; for comparison we have therefore also included equivalent data for the junior non-manual occupations in which girls predominated. The results are interesting in several ways. Firstly, the table demonstrates that there was a wide variation in the level of qualifications generally needed for entry to the jobs within each socio-economic group. The skilled manual jobs tended to have the most demanding requirements, but even so, it is notable that although they were all classified as 'skilled' many in fact were said to require qualifications below 'craftsman' level (as defined on the Heg Scale): that is, requiring four or more CSEs at grades 2 to 4; three GCE O levels; or any equivalent combination (see Appendix III). But the most significant feature of the table is the considerable divergence in the standards of skilled manual jobs obtained by each group of leavers. Only 31% of whites with this type of work were in occupations requiring qualifications below 'craftsman' level, compared to 44% of Early Migrants and 52% of Later Migrants. By contrast, the entry requirements for the junior non-manual jobs obtained by each group of leavers were generally much closer.

The differences in the standards of the skilled manual jobs obtained by Whites and West Indians show that the impression given by Tables 8.2 and 8.3 that the three groups of boys had been equally successful in entering this type of work is somewhat deceptive. It also implies that when West Indians had to accept alternative jobs to those they really wanted the vacancies they secured were often in less skilled occupations.

Vocational training

The generally higher standard of skilled manual work obtained by Whites accounts for why, in Table 8.5, we find that only 17% of the Later Migrant boys had apprenticeships, compared to 26% of Whites. Early Migrant boys did much better with 31% in apprenticeships, although again this was less than commensurate with the much larger proportion of Early Migrants in skilled manual jobs (see Table 8.3).

Girls were far less likely to have jobs that offered formal vocational training. Such provision was largely confined to those entering nursing of whom there were relatively more amongst the West Indians.

Level of qualifications required for entry to jobs

Classifying occupations on the basis of the standard of qualifications required to enter them provides a general indication of the degree of knowledge, skill or ability they required of new entrants. It does not, of course, tell us how good the jobs were in other respects, such as the opportunities for vocational training and general advancement they afforded. But it has the advantage of enabling one to compare occupations with one another even when they were in quite different socio-economic categories. This is especially useful when trying to assess the relative 'quality' of the jobs obtained by boys and girls. In the next two tables we have therefore compared the minimum qualifications needed for entry to all current or last jobs. Table 8.6 shows that over half (55%) of the pairs of Early Migrants and Whites, matched by sex, age, education and locality, entered occupations that usually required a similar level of

Table 8.2 Occupational group of current/last job compared to desired job by sex of leaver and area

Occupational group	Sex											
	Boys						Girls					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher non-manual	24	18	10	12	10	14	80	74	69	86	57	92
Skilled manual	49	65	66	80	57	80	7	9	10	6	3	1
Lower manual/non-manual	24	9	22	4	26	3	12	11	16	5	32	6
Had not made up mind about job wanted to do when left school		6		3		3		6		2		1
Had not yet had a job	2		2		7		1		5		7	
Inadequately described	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
Base (all leavers)	*197*				*70*		*176*				*72*	

Table 8.3 Socio-economic group of current/last job compared with desired job by sex of leaver and area

Socio-economic group	Sex											
	Boys						Girls					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	7	9	2	4	1	4	8	19	9	26	11	38
Junior non-manual workers	17	10	8	9	9	11	76	59	62	61	46	54
Personal service workers	2	3	—	—	—	—	7	7	2	3	3	1
Skilled manual workers	48	62	65	77	57	76	2	2	9	3	3	—
Semi-skilled manual workers	18	5	17	2	17	1	7	3	12	3	29	4
Unskilled manual workers	5	1	5	1	9	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Armed forces	1	3	1	3	—	4	—	2	—	0	—	1
Had not made up mind about job wanted to do when left school		6		3		3		6		2		1
Had not yet had a job	2		2		7		0		5		7	
Inadequately described	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
Base (all leavers)	*197*				*70*		*176*				*72*	

Table 8.2 (continued)

Occupational group	Area											
	London						Birmingham					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Higher non-manual	56	48	44	47	40	64	47	42	34	46	27	42
Skilled manual	26	33	34	42	27	32	32	42	43	48	33	49
Lower manual/non-manual	16	9	20	5	28	1	19	10	19	3	30	7
Had not made up mind about job wanted to do when left school		8		4		3		4		2		1
Had not yet had a job	1		1		5		2		4		9	
Inadequately described	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
	142				*75*		*231*				*67*	

Table 8.3 (continued)

Socio-economic group	Area											
	London						Birmingham					
	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers and intermediate non-manual workers	8	19	5	13	9	32	7	10	6	15	3	9
Junior non-manual workers	51	31	40	35	31	33	41	35	29	32	24	33
Personal service workers	5	5	1	2	1	—	3	5	1	1	1	1
Skilled manual workers	21	29	32	39	27	31	30	36	43	45	33	45
Semi-skilled manual workers	10	4	14	2	23	—	14	4	15	3	24	6
Unskilled manual workers	3	1	5	1	4	—	3	—	2	0	4	—
Armed forces	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	4	—	2	—	4
Had not made up mind about job wanted to do when left school		8		4		3		4		2		1
Had not yet had a job	1		1		5		2		4		9	
Inadequately described	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—
	142				*75*		*231*				*67*	

Table 8.4 Level of qualifications* usually required for entry to current/last jobs in the two principal socio-economic groups

Level of qualifications usually required for entry to job	Socio-economic group of current/last job					
	Junior non-manual			Skilled manual		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Technician*) High	4	1	5	6	4	9
(Craftsman*) Medium	47	47	36	63	52	39
Low	50	52	59	31	44	52
Base (leavers with jobs in named SEG)	*167*	*125*	*39*	*99*	*141*	*44*

* *As assessed on the Heg Scale.*

Table 8.5 Training status in current/last job by sex of leaver

Training status in current/last job	Boys			Girls		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	51	49	65	83	85	81
Apprenticeship	26	31	17	5	1	—
Traininee/cadet or student nurse	24	21	19	12	15	19
Base (leavers who had had a job)	*193*	*193*	*65*	*175*	*168*	*67*

qualifications. Comparison of the proportions above and below the diagonal, however, reveals that amongst the remaining 45% there was a marked imbalance: in 27% the White obtained a job which usually needed better qualifications than the occupation entered by the West Indian to whom the White was matched, whereas the opposite occurred in only 17% of cases. In most instances the divergence in the fortunes of the matched pairs occurred when one of the pair succeeded in obtaining a job at 'craftsman' level, but the other had to be content with a less skilled occupation.

Table 8.7 enables us to see how these differences arose. It transpires that whereas the occupations entered by Early Migrants were of a similar level in both areas, Whites in London had obtained better jobs than their counterparts in Birmingham. In consequence, whilst the general standard of the jobs obtained by Early Migrants and Whites in Birmingham were almost identical, in London the Early Migrants' jobs were much below the level of the Whites'. Later Migrants, however, fared much less well than Whites, in both areas.

The most likely explanation for the jobs of white Londoners tending to be of a particularly high standard is that they were better able to obtain good non-manual jobs. We noted earlier how Whites who had failed to get the jobs they wanted often found alternative employment in junior non-manual occupations. This was particularly so for white girls and was also found to have occurred especially frequently in London. West Indian girls whose ambitions were thwarted were much more likely to enter semi-skilled manual work (see Table 8.3).

Table 8.7 also shows that although the girls' educational attainments were at least as good as the boys' (see Table 3.2), the girls' occupations tended invariably to require lower educational standards, particularly amongst the Early and Later Migrants.

Table 8.6 Minimum qualifications usually required for entry to the current/last jobs of matched pairs*

Early Migrants — Level of qualifications usually required for job†	Matched Whites: (Technician) High	(Craftsman) Medium	Low	Total
(Technician) High	1% *3*	1% *3*	1% *5*	*11*
(Craftsman) Medium	2% *7*	24% *83*	16% *57*	*147*
Low	5% *17*	20% *69*	30% *107*	*193*
Total	*27*	*155*	*169*	*Base (=100%) 351*

* *Excludes matched pairs in which one or both members had not obtained a job by the time of the first interview.*
† *As assessed on the Heg Scale (see Appendix III.)*

Table 8.7 Minimum qualifications usually required for entry to current/last job by leaver's sex and area

Level of qualifications usually required for job*	Sex						Area					
	Boys			Girls			London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(Technician) High	9	4	9	5	2	2	9	2	8	6	4	2
(Craftsman) Medium	44	45	31	44	38	28	50	41	30	40	42	30
Low	46	51	60	51	61	70	40	57	62	54	54	69
Base (leavers who had had a job)	*193*	*193*	*65*	*175*	*168*	*67*	*141*	*140*	*71*	*227*	*221*	*61*

* *As assessed on the Heg Scale*

Table 8.8 The social standing of current/last jobs of matched pairs*

Early Migrants: Social standing†	Matched Whites: 60 and above	50–59	40–49	30–39	Below 30	Total
60 and above	1% *4*	1% *2*	2% *6*	2% *8*	0% *1*	*21*
50–59	1% *3*	2% *6*	4% *16*	4% *14*	2% *7*	*46*
40–49	2% *7*	2% *7*	6% *20*	10% *36*	3% *10*	*80*
30–39	2% *9*	4% *13*	11% *40*	22% *78*	6% *23*	*163*
Below 30	0% *1*	2% *6*	4% *16*	4% *13*	1% *3*	*39*
Total	*24*	*34*	*98*	*149*	*44*	*Base (=100%)* *349*

* *Excluding matched pairs in which one or both members had not obtained a job by the time of the first interview.*
† *As assessed on the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale, for details of which see Appendix 111.*

Social status

Another way of assessing the relative 'quality' of jobs is in terms of their 'social standing'. For this purpose each occupation was assessed on the Hope–Goldthorpe Scale (see Appendix III). The results are summarised in Table 8.8. It shows that 32% (the total on the diagonal) of the matched pairs of Whites and Early Migrants had jobs that fell into the same band, and that the remaining pairs were almost equally divided between those in which the West Indian's job had the higher rating (35%) and those where the White had the more prestigious job (33%). Further analysis showed that this very balanced situation held true for both sexes. The only divergence worthy of note was that although the average status of girls' occupations was only marginally below that of the boys', the girls' jobs were found to be heavily concentrated in the 40–49 and 30–39 bands, whereas boys' occupations were more widely spread throughout the range. Needless to say, Later Migrants, of both sexes, tended to have jobs of slightly lower status than Whites and Early Migrants.

As the Hope–Goldthorpe Scale is a measure of social status, whereas the Heg Scale is only concerned with the educational qualifications usually required for entry to an occupation, it is to be expected that the profiles they produce will differ somewhat. Nevertheless, judging by the differences in their respective Heg Scale ratings in the equivalent matched-pairs Table 8.6, it is surprising to find the social grading of the Whites' and Early Migrants' occupations to be so similar*.

Industry

Table 8.9 shows the industries in which our informants' jobs were located. In keeping with their greater propensity to have manual employment West Indians of both sexes and in both areas were more likely to have jobs in manufacturing: Whites being found more frequently in administration and finance and (particularly if they were boys) in the Distributive trades. Within each ethnic group the girls invariably found more of their jobs in administration and finance and in professional/scientific services, and boys were more commonly employed in manufacturing – reflecting corresponding sex differences in the relative numbers who had entered office work, nursing and skilled manual employment.

* It was found subsequently, (at the fourth interview) when the leavers were asked to give their own assessment of the status of their employment, that their answers also displayed a similar inconsistency. This would seem to confirm that the social status of a job does indeed tend to be related more to its general occupational type, rather than to the level of qualifications required for entry (see Volume 2, Chapter 9). However, a further reason for why the Hope-Goldthorpe Scale may have tended to give a more favourable assessment of the West Indian, occupations is that it is based, like the socio-economic groups, on the 1970 OPCS classification of occupations, whereas the Heg Scale uses the Department of Employment CODOT system which distinguishes with much greater refinement between the nature and levels of skills of manual occupations. It will be recalled that in this particular type of employment the West Indians' occupations were often of an inferior standard to those of Whites (see Table 8.4).

Table 8.9 Industry of current/last job by leaver's sex and area

Industry of current/last jobs	Sex						Area					
	Boys			Girls			London			Birmingham		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manufacturing	35	52	57	31	39	39	23	34	37	39	54	61
Construction	12	13	9	—	2	—	7	6	6	6	10	3
Service industries	21	14	17	10	10	18	16	17	21	16	9	13
Distributive trades	20	9	8	19	17	15	21	14	10	18	13	13
Administration and finance	9	4	3	23	13	13	25	14	13	10	4	3
Professional and scientific services	3	2	1	15	15	13	8	11	11	9	6	3
Inadequately described	1	6	5	1	3	1	—	5	3	1	4	3
Base (Leavers who had had a job)	*193*	*193*	*65*	*175*	*168*	*67*	*141*	*140*	*71*	*227*	*221*	*61*

Table 8.10 Pay in current/last job by sex of leaver, area and sample year

Pay in current/ last job	Sex				Year 1					Year 2	
	Boys		Girls		London			Birmingham			
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under £6	4	8	5	6	1	6	1	11	12	3	4
£6–£6.99	8	10	10	10	5	4	3	15	16	8	12
£7–£7.99	10	12	20	15	6	8	3	23	19	17	15
£8–£8.99	13	15	13	18	10	16	11	15	13	14	21
£9–£9.99	15	16	13	11	8	11	14	12	17	23	13
£10–£10.99	12	11	10	10	14	13	16	9	8	10	10
£11–£11.99	14	9	7	9	17	11	16	6	6	9	9
£12–£12.99	7	6	10	10	13	14	8	7	1	4	6
£13–£13.99	4	4	4	4	6	6	11	1	1	5	4
£14–£14.99	4	3	2	4	7	6	6	—	1	1	2
Over £15	6	4	6	1	11	4	10	—	2	4	2
No answer/ refusal	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	2	2
Averages*	£10.00	£9.50	£9.50	£9.50	£11.50	£10.50	£11.50	£8.50	£8.50	£9.50	£9.50
Base (Leavers who had had a job)	*193*	*193*	*175*	*168*	*141*	*140*	*71*	*115*	*109*	*112*	*112*

* *Excluding those for whom no information was available.*

Notes
(i) Includes overtime and bonuses, but after deduction of tax and national insurance.
(ii) Monthly salaries have been recalculated on a weekly basis.
(iii) Most of the student/cadet nurses in our sample were 'living in' and paying for their board and lodging at a subsidised rate. Had they not done so they would be entitled to a 'living out' allowance, in addition to their basic salary. To make their pay comparable with the rest of the sample we have treated all nurses as though they were 'living out' and recalculated their salaries accordingly.
(iv) The sample of Later Migrants was of insufficient size to furnish separate figures for Year 1 and Year 2 in Birmingham. Also, as the area distribution of Later Migrants differed from that of the matched samples, the variation in pay levels as between London and Birmingham made it impracticable to include Later Migrants in the first section of the table. So far as could be determined, however, the pay of Later Migrants was generally comparable with the other groups' – as is demonstrated by the figures for Later Migrant Londoners in the second part of the table.

Pay

At the time of interview pay rates were rising rapidly. In Table 8.10 we have therefore shown that data for the two annual samples in Birmingham separately. (The Year 1 Sample was interviewed in 1972/73 and the Year 2 Sample in 1973/74, see Chapter 2.) The table shows that pay in the Birmingham Year 2 sample was on average £1 higher than in the previous year. The highest levels of pay, however, were in London. Otherwise, although there was a wide range in pay scales within each group – ranging from under £6 to over £15 – variations in the average pay of each group were relatively small.

Summary

Although they did not always get exactly what they wanted, most Whites and Early Migrants whose aspirations were academically suitable managed to get jobs of the same general type as they had been aiming for. Later Migrants were much less successful.

A third or more of the Whites and West Indians who were under-qualified for their desired jobs had ultimately to accept work in other occupational groups; many others who had been aiming for jobs for which they were ill-qualified and who consequently failed to get what they wanted, succeeded in securing vacancies in related occupations with lower entry requirements.

Although there was little difference, originally, in the proportions of Whites and West Indians who had aimed for junior non-manual work, White leavers (particularly in London) were much more likely to get this kind of employment. Later Migrant girls fared especially badly, although (in common with other girls) most of them had wanted non-manual work, more than a quarter had eventually to accept semi-skilled manual jobs.

Although boys often had difficulty securing skilled manual work, the success rates of Whites and West Indians were very similar. On closer examination, however, it transpired that the skilled manual jobs entered by the West Indians tended to have lower entrance requirements than did the Whites'. West Indians in skilled manual occupations were also less likely to have apprenticeships. The standard of the manual jobs obtained by Later Migrant boys was particularly low.

When all the jobs obtained by each group of leavers were compared solely on the basis of their entrance requirements (disregarding occupational differences) it was also found that the occupations entered by white Londoners tended generally to be of higher standard than those of Whites in Birmingham, or of West Indians in either area. In Birmingham, the general standard of Whites' jobs was in fact very similar to the Early Migrants'. The reason that white Londoners did especially well was probably that they were better able, than West Indians, to benefit from the ready availability of good non-manual jobs in the London area.

The occupations entered by Later Migrants were invariably of a lower standard than Early Migrants' and Whites' regardless of the area in which they were located and despite the similarity of their educational attainments. Similarly, although again the educational standard of West Indian girls was equal to West Indian boys', the jobs the girls obtained tended to have lower entrance requirements.

In keeping with their greater propensity to have manual employment, West Indians of both sexes and in both areas were more likely to have jobs in manufacturing industry: Whites being found more frequently in Administration and Finance, and in the Distributive trades.

As was to be expected, Londoners generally had a much higher average level of pay than people in Birmingham. In both areas, however, the average pay of Whites and West Indians was very similar.

9 What the leavers thought of their jobs

This chapter has three main purposes: to give a detailed description of jobs from the employees' perspective; to assess how far the jobs they had obtained fulfilled the leavers' expectations; and to examine job satisfaction and the causes of discontent.

The occupations we shall discuss here are those our informants were in at the time of interview. People who had a job previously but had since become unemployed are excluded, because of our general policy not to ask detailed attitudinal questions about past employment (see Chapter 2).

The employee's view

The first two tables analyse the leavers' evaluations of a variety of aspects of their employment. The information was collected through a self-completion questionnaire administered during the course of the interview (see Appendix V). As the questions asked were very numerous we have simplified the presentation of the results by excluding such items as proved to be duplicative or which failed to reveal any noteworthy ethnic differences. It was found, for example, that there were no appreciable or consistent variations in the answers given by Whites and West Indians in relation to personnel management or the general organisation of the work in the establishments where they were employed. Also, in one instance, where an especially large number of questions were asked on a particular topic (satisfaction with treatment by supervisors) it was thought preferable to combine all the answers given by each leaver into a single composite item which takes account of both the negative and positive aspects of each person's situations. (See Appendix III for how this was done.)

Table 9.1 analyses our informants' answers by ethnic group and (for Whites and Early Migrants) by sex and educational level. The data on Later Migrants has not been further sub-divided because it was found that the sex differences followed the same general trends as for Early Migrants and that the educational level of Later Migrants (unlike that of Early Migrants) had little or no influence.

The table shows fairly large differences in relation to how much interest and pride people had in their work; the level of training they thought their jobs required; their opinions of the quality of training provided; and in their assessments of their pay, security of employment and treatment by supervisors. In every case, the West Indians tended to have a lower opinion of their jobs. Later Migrants were especially prone to regard their work as uninteresting and requiring little training. The aspect of their employment which leavers in all three groups assessed most highly was the friendliness of their fellow workers in relation to which there was also the smallest ethnic difference.

In both ethnic groups, girls tended to take more pride in their work and were disposed to have a more favourable view of their pay, security of employment and treatment by supervisors, whereas boys assessed their jobs as requiring a higher level of training. As the boys and girls were often in very different occupations little significance can be attached to these divergences. The main interest in the separate data for boys and girls is that it demonstrates that the tendency for West Indians to hold their jobs in less esteem was common to both sexes. As the next section of the table shows, however, the difference between White and West Indian job evaluations was not constant at each educational level. Excepting for the friendliness of their fellow workers (about which most leavers were well content) we find that as educational levels declined so the tendency for the Early Migrants to adopt a less favourable view of their jobs increased. The opinions of Whites and Early Migrants who were in the top educational stratum were very similar in respect to most aspects of their employment: the main differences were that West Indians were much less satisfied with the way they were treated by their supervisors and tended to regard their employment as being less secure. The same divergences are apparent at all educational levels. West Indians at the bottom educational level, however, also tended to have much lower opinions of all other facets of their employment; in contrast to poorly qualified Whites, whose job descriptions were often as favourable as those given by better qualified leavers. The only job features to be given a much lower evaluation by less qualified Whites were the level of training required, security of employment and treatment by supervisors. Educational differences had little effect on the amount of pride or interest that Whites took in their work.

The particularly strong association between the West Indians' job evaluations and their standards of education are a further confirmation of the difficulties that less qualified Early Migrants (in common with Later Migrants generally) had in finding suitable employment (see Chapter 7).

Table 9.2 compares the job descriptions of people with different types of jobs, and contrasts the answers of

Table 9.1 Leavers' assessments of their current jobs by leaver's sex and educational level

Leaver's assessment*	All			Sex				Educational level					
				Boys		Girls		Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interest in work													
High	65	54	48	63	57	67	50	68	46	58	55	71	65
Medium	24	29	30	25	23	23	35	22	34	31	30	19	20
Low	10	16	22	11	19	10	13	10	20	11	14	10	14
Pride in work													
High	56	47	41	52	45	62	51	57	40	54	45	62	62
Medium	33	28	25	35	27	31	29	32	27	38	30	28	25
Low	10	24	34	12	28	6	20	11	32	8	24	10	13
Level of training/ skill required to do job													
High	63	58	46	70	60	56	55	53	49	66	60	68	68
Medium	19	16	20	15	12	24	21	18	17	20	15	19	17
Low	17	26	33	14	28	20	24	22	34	14	25	13	15
Quality of training provided													
High	54	45	41	52	45	55	45	54	37	53	45	57	58
Medium	27	28	20	31	24	23	33	27	36	26	25	29	22
Low	18	27	38	16	32	21	21	19	27	21	30	14	20
Pay													
High	41	31	34	39	28	44	34	43	32	42	26	37	40
Medium	37	37	36	38	39	35	34	33	31	38	42	42	38
Low	22	31	29	22	32	21	31	24	37	19	33	21	22
Security of employment													
High	58	41	42	51	34	65	48	55	35	57	36	65	56
Medium	30	35	32	34	36	25	34	34	40	33	40	19	19
Low	12	24	25	14	30	9	17	11	25	10	23	15	24
Friendliness of fellow workers													
High	76	70	72	73	69	79	70	78	76	76	63	74	73
Medium	22	25	19	23	28	20	21	20	21	23	30	22	22
Low	2	5	10	3	2	1	8	2	3	1	6	4	5
Satisfaction with treatment by supervisors													
High	72	60	62	68	54	77	67	64	49	73	66	87	68
Medium	27	37	31	31	41	23	32	36	46	27	33	13	28
Low	1	3	7	1	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	—	4
Base (all who had a job)	*353*	*322*	*113*	*185*	*171*	*168*	*151*	*143*	*118*	*131*	*126*	*79*	*78*

* *For the actual wording of the questions asked in relation to each topic see* School Leaver's Self-completion Questionnaire, *in Appendix V.*

those who had succeeded in entering their desired occupations with others who had to accept alternative employment. As the range of jobs embraced by each occupational group was very wide, our informants' descriptions of their work are bound to show much diversity, within as well as between, each occupational category. The occupational profiles illustrated in Table 9.2 are nevertheless fairly well defined, particularly in relation to Whites. Amongst the latter, it is the skilled manual workers who stand out most clearly. As is to be expected, Whites who had this kind of employment were much more likely to give a high rating to the level and quality of the training in their jobs: in addition, they were more likely to be proud of their work and to find it very interesting. The only real drawbacks to their employment were that they often felt relatively ill-paid and, compared to people in higher non-manual occupations, that their jobs were less secure. In addition to their greater sense of job security, Whites in higher non-manual jobs tended also to be particularly content with their supervisors. Whites in lower status manual/ non-manual jobs had a lower opinion of every aspect of

Table 9.2 Leavers' assessments of their current jobs by occupational group and if job in desired occupation

Leaver's assessment*	Occupational group of current job						Leaver's current occupation was:					
	Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/ non-manual		In desired occupation		Not in desired occupation but same occupational group		In different occupational group to desired occupation	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interest in work												
High	62	57	76	66	55	22	79	82	55	41	47	26
Medium	28	32	17	21	27	39	19	16	28	40	30	40
Low	9	10	7	12	19	39	2	2	17	19	23	34
Pride in work												
High	57	56	65	52	41	19	73	76	45	34	33	18
Medium	34	28	27	25	41	33	24	20	42	31	40	39
Low	8	15	9	22	17	48	2	3	13	36	26	44
Level of training/ skill required to do job												
High	56	59	86	68	49	33	74	79	60	47	45	36
Medium	28	20	7	10	16	21	16	10	22	23	22	15
Low	16	21	7	21	35	46	10	11	18	29	33	49
Quality of training provided												
High	52	51	63	49	41	24	70	71	43	31	28	24
Medium	28	31	26	26	28	27	25	22	20	35	40	27
Low	19	18	10	25	31	49	5	8	37	35	31	49
Pay												
High	42	33	35	30	47	30	47	38	30	23	41	28
Medium	37	38	39	41	34	25	36	37	43	39	36	35
Low	20	28	26	29	19	44	18	25	27	38	23	36
Security of employment												
High	65	52	54	35	45	29	70	62	47	28	46	22
Medium	25	33	33	37	38	35	23	30	39	38	34	39
Low	9	15	12	27	17	36	7	7	13	34	20	39
Friendliness of fellow workers												
High	77	71	70	72	80	64	80	75	71	69	71	63
Medium	19	23	29	27	19	24	19	20	26	28	24	28
Low	3	5	1	2	2	11	1	5	3	3	4	8
Satisfaction with treatment by supervisors												
High	77	76	72	52	58	44	78	71	66	58	63	47
Medium	22	22	28	46	42	46	22	29	32	39	36	45
Low	1	2	—	2	—	10	—	—	1	3	1	8
Base (all employed leavers)	*181*	*129*	*105*	*127*	*64*	*62*						
(all employed leavers who had a desired job)							*172*	*131*	*89*	*99*	*70*	*75*

* *See note to Table 9.1*

their employment, except its pay and the friendliness of the people they worked with.

The job assessments of West Indians in higher non-manual occupations were generally very similar to those of the Whites: the main exceptions being that West Indians were less confident about their job security and more likely to consider themselves under-paid. It is noteworthy that this is the only occupational group in which West Indians and Whites were equally satisfied with their treatment by supervisors.

As compared with Whites in similar jobs, the West Indian skilled manual workers had much lower opinions of their employment especially in relation to the level and quality of the training it provided. This agrees with our earlier conclusion, when examining the standard of qualifications required for entry to their jobs, that the West Indians in this occupational category had tended to get jobs of an inferior kind (see Table 8.4).

The West Indians who had lower manual/non-manual jobs were especially critical of their work. Although Whites in this kind of occupation also tended not to think very highly of their jobs, their reactions were not nearly as unfavourable as the West Indians'. The differences between the ethnic groups are especially marked in relation to the personal satisfactions that people derived from their work. Thus, despite the character of their employment, 55% of Whites said they thought it was very interesting and 41% took considerable pride in what they did, compared with only 22% and 19%, respectively, amongst the West Indians. Jobs in this occupational category required very few, if any, qualifications and so it was impracticable to attempt to grade them on the basis of their entry requirements, to check whether the West Indians had in fact obtained inferior types of employment. The variation in the job descriptions of the two groups of leavers is so wide, however, that there can be little doubt that (as in the skilled manual group) the West Indians in this bottom occupational group had tended to get the least attractive jobs.

Most of the people in the lower manual/non-manual group had originally hoped to get a better type of employment (see Table 8.2). Their failure to get what they wanted may therefore have tended to make them more critical of the jobs they had got. The next section of Table 9.2 shows that people who fulfilled their ambitions were generally much more pleased with their situation, in every way. Moreover, when West Indians got the jobs they had been seeking they were as proud and interested in their work as were Whites, and had equally favourable opinions of the level and quality of the training they were receiving. It is only in relation to their pay, job security, treatment by supervisors and the friendliness of their colleagues that West Indians tended to be somewhat less content than Whites, but this is unsurprising given that all West Indians (regardless of their sex, education or occupation) tended to be less satisfied about these aspects of their employment. The people who were most critical about their work were those who had failed to get into their desired occupations and had to find employment in other occupational groups. The West Indians were more denigratory about the alternative jobs they had obtained, but as they were more likely in these circumstances to have had to accept inferior employment (in the lower manual/non-manual category) this is only to be expected.

Whether jobs fulfilled people's expectations

The leavers' descriptions of their jobs summarised in the last two tables cover a wide range of issues of varying importance. When our informants were asked which features of their employment were most important to them certain topics such as job security and pay tended to be given lower priority (see Chapter 4, pages 4 to 6). It cannot be assumed, therefore, that people whose jobs were relatively insecure or ill-paid would necessarily be much less satisfied with their work on this account. Furthermore, people's preferences varied considerably. We need, therefore, to try also to assess to what extent each individual's job possessed the particular features which were most highly valued by that person. For this purpose a combined measure was produced, based on the three features said to be most important to each informant, weighted by the degree of importance attached to each factor. (See Appendix III for full details of how this was done.)

Table 9.3 summarises our findings in relation to the matched samples. It confirms that when sex, education and location are held constant, the Early Migrants are found to have been less likely to obtain jobs which had the characteristics they wanted. In only 19% of cases (the total above the diagonal) had the West Indian been more successful than the matched White, compared with 40% (the total below the diagonal) where

Table 9.3 If current jobs of matched pairs* had the three features they thought were most important

Matched Whites

The three features each leaver thought to be most important* said to be:

	Entirely or largely achieved	Partly achieved	Entirely or largely unachieved	Totals
Early Migrants: Entirely or largely achieved	22% *68*	12% *35*	4% *13*	*116*
Early Migrants: Partly achieved	22% *67*	17% *52*	3% *8*	*127*
Early Migrants: Entirely or largely unachieved	11% *34*	7% *22*	1% *3*	*59*
Totals	*169*	*109*	*24*	*Base (= 100%)* *302*

* Pairs in which one or both members were unemployed at the time of the first interview are excluded from the above table.
† See Appendix III for details of how this was determined.

Table 9.4 If current job had the three features leaver thought were most important by how closely the occupation corresponded to what the leaver had originally wanted

The three features leaver thought were most important* said to be:	Leaver's current job was:					
	In desired occupation		Not in desired occupation but in same occupational group		In a different occupational group to desired occupation	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Entirely or largely achieved	71	61	39	25	37	21
Partly achieved	27	36	48	52	47	40
Entirely or largely unachieved	1	2	14	23	16	39
Base (all who had a job)	*172*	*131*	*88*	*99*	*70*	*75*

* *See Appendix III for how these were determined.*

the opposite occurred. In a further 40% (the sum on the diagonal) they had been equally successful.

The leavers naturally expected, or hoped, that the occupations they aspired to enter would possess the characteristics they thought most important. Table 9.4 shows the degree to which jobs lived up to people's expectations when they got jobs in their preferred occupations, as compared to when they had to accept alternative employment. We find that more than a quarter of the Whites (28%) and over a third of the West Indians (38%) who had got their desired jobs felt that their conditions of employment were deficient in certain important ways. But the people who were by far the most disappointed were those who had had to accept alternative jobs. It is here also that the divergence in the situations of the Whites and West Indians is widest. Even when the alternative jobs were of a type similar to what they had been aiming for, only 39% of Whites and a mere 25% of West Indians regarded their work as being fully up to the standards they had hoped for. Amongst those who had been obliged to accept a job in a different occupational group, as many as 39% of the West Indians considered their work to be largely or entirely lacking in the more important characteristics that they thought a good job should possess.

Table 9.5 Satisfaction of matched pairs* with their current jobs

Early Migrants \ Matched Whites	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not satisfied	Totals
Very satisfied	22% *66*	12% *38*	4% *11*	*115*
Fairly satisfied	27% *82*	16% *49*	3% *9*	*140*
Dissatisfied	8% *24*	7% *21*	1% *4*	*49*
Totals	*172*	*108*	*24*	*Base (= 100%)* *304*

* *Pairs in which one or both members were unemployed at the time of the first interview are excluded from the table.*

Satisfaction with jobs

Employed leavers were also asked to say how satisfied they were with their jobs. Answers were recorded on a three point scale. Table 9.5 again contrasts the responses from the matched pairs. The proportions of pairs in which the White was more satisfied (42%) and the instances where the West Indian was more content (19%) are nearly identical to the figures in Table 9.3 which compared the degree to which people had succeeded in getting jobs which had the characteristics they wanted.

The reasons the two distributions are so similar is of course that job satisfaction was highly correlated with getting work which had the general characteristics which a person prized most highly. There was, likewise, a strong association between job satisfaction and the degree to which the person's occupation was of the type he or she had wanted. We shall examine how job satisfaction was affected by the interaction of these two factors, presently. First, however, Table 9.6 shows how people's feelings about their jobs varied with educational level and occupational type, and between the Whites and West Indians. We have already observed, from Table 9.5, that Early Migrants were much less content with their employment than the Whites to whom they were matched. Table 9.6 demonstrates that dissatisfaction amongst Later Migrants was even greater. It also shows that the general tendency for West Indians to be more dissatisfied was repeated at every educational level and in all occupational groups, but was especially pronounced amongst less qualified people and those who had skilled manual or lower manual/non-manual employment.

Table 9.6 Satisfaction with current job by leaver's educational level

Satisfaction with current job	All		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Very satisfied	58	38	33
Fairly satisfied	35	47	42
Dissatisfied	7	16	25
Base (all employed leavers)	*353*	*322*	*112*

Table 9.7 Whether current job was in desired occupation and also had the features thought to be most important by satisfaction with job

Leaver's feelings about job	If current job was in desired occupation												
	Yes						No						
	The 3 features thought most important said to be:						The 3 features thought most important said to be:						
	Entirely or largely achieved		Partly achieved		Entirely or largely unachieved		Entirely or largely achieved		Partly achieved		Entirely or largely unachieved		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	
	%	%	%	%			%	%	%	%		%	
Very satisfied	84	70	56	48	*2*	—	65	51	29	18	*1*	—	
Fairly satisfied	16	30	42	50	—	*2*	35	44	63	65	*7*	42	
Dissatisfied	—	—	2	2	—	*1*	—	5	8	16	*15*	58	
Base (all employed leaver who had a desired job)	*122*	*80*	*48*	*48*	*2*	*3*	*60*	*41*	*76*	*81*	*23*	*52*	*Bases (=100%)*
Proportions in each situation (Whites)	37%		14%		1%		18%		23%		7%		*331*
Proportions in each situation (Early Migrants)		26%		16%		1%		13%		26%		17%	*305*

Table 9.7 illustrates the extent to which job satisfaction was related to the realisation of people's occupational preferences, as compared to other factors. The table shows that whilst getting a job of the 'right' kind was very important, many people who had to accept jobs in occupations of a different type to the ones they had hoped to enter were equally content with their work. Thus, over a quarter (15% out of 52%) of Whites who had secured jobs in their preferred occupations were not altogether pleased with some aspects of their employment and were in consequence less satisfied with their jobs than the 18% who had failed to get into the occupations they had originally aimed for, but who found alternative work which catered for their main requirements. Most (84%) of the 37% of Whites who had secured vacancies in the occupations they wanted and found that their jobs largely lived up to their expectations were very content. Very few Whites had to accept work that was completely inadequate in all rspects, but 23% failed to enter their preferred occupations and found themselves in jobs which fell well short of what they had hoped for; not surprisingly, many of these people (63%) were only fairly satisfied with their employment.

Only 26% of West Indians (compared with 37% of Whites) had obtained work in their preferred occupations, with the right conditions, and 17% (compared with only 7% of Whites) had jobs which failed to give them any of the things they wanted. Not surprisingly, 58% of this last group were completely dissatisfied with their situation. Table 9.7 also shows that when West Indians are compared to Whites who had an equal degree of success in getting into the types of occupation they wanted *and* who assessed their conditions similarly, that although both factors had a powerful influence on job satisfaction they do not account completely for the gap in levels of satisfaction between the two ethnic groups. The leavers own job assessments (Tables 9.1 and 9.2) show that the conditions of employment of West Indians were often considered to be deficient in a wide variety of ways, by comparison with equivalent White leavers. We have only taken into account the three job features which the leaver felt were most important. Many of the less important deficiencies in the employment conditions of West Indians will therefore have been excluded from the job assessments in Table 9.7, which is undoubtedly one of the reasons why West Indian job satisfaction was lower

and occupational group

Educational level						Occupational group					
Low		Medium		High		Higher non-manual		Skilled manual		Lower manual/ non-manual	
Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
56	32	60	34	58	51	56	40	67	44	48	19
37	48	32	52	35	36	38	52	29	43	38	44
7	19	8	14	6	13	6	8	5	12	14	36
143	*118*	*131*	*126*	*79*	*78*	*183*	*130*	*105*	*129*	*64*	*63*

Table 9.8 Complaints made about current job by leaver's educational level and occupational group

	All			Educational level					
				Low		Medium		High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Fully satisfied with present job	58	38	33	56	32	60	34	58	51
Had complaints about:									
Job content	23	40	37	20	40	26	43	28	30
Disliked nature of the work	5	12	18	4	11	6	17	6	6
Disliked particular aspects of the work	8	10	8	4	9	10	10	11	10
Found the work boring	8	14	7	10	15	8	14	6	10
Work too heavy/tiring	2	4	4		5	2	2	5	4
Working conditions	6	9	8	8	9	6	10	6	6
Bad physical working conditions	3	6	4	4	6	3	8	3	4
Lengthy hours	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	3	2
Pay	11	16	9	14	19	6	15	13	12
Lack of prospects	3	3	3	1	2	5	3	3	2
Training	1	4	5	1	4	2	6	—	—
Fellow workers	3	5	3	3	3	2	6	3	6
Supervisors	4	3	1	6	4	2	2	5	4
Other complaints	4	5	8	2	2	5	3	6	12
Dissatisfied, but for no particular reason	1	2	4	1	2	2	2	—	2
Base (all who were currently employed)	*353*	*322*	*113*	*143*	*118*	*131*	*126*	*79*	*78*

Totals come to more than 100% because many informants gave more than one reason for being dissatisfied.

than the Whites' in each sub-group featured in the table. It is also possible that West Indians tended to be less easily satisfied, but as we have no means of assessing the leavers' employment conditions, other than through their eyes, it is impossible to check if this was so. (See also the further note on the differences in job satisfaction amongst poorly qualified leavers.)

Complaints

Anyone who was less than fully satisfied with their current employment was asked to say what it was they were discontented about. People tended, naturally, to concentrate on the issues about which they felt most strongly. Consequently, in the following two tables in which we have analysed answers by the leavers' educational level, occupational group and by how closely occupations corresponded to what they had wanted, we find that especial emphasis was given to job content. Matters of a kind that are of less immediate concern to young people when they first start work, such as job security, were much less likely to be mentioned, even when job assessments showed their conditions of employment to be deficient in many ways. In addition, when people were dissatisfied with the level of training they were receiving (because they had wanted more skilled occupations) they often said simply that they disliked the nature of the work, or that they found it boring. As a result, the frequency of complaints about the standard of training provided was lower than people's job assessments would have led one to expect. The data in Tables 9.8 and 9.9 tend therefore to give even greater emphasis to the fact that the prime cause of West Indians being more dissatisfied than Whites was that they were more likely to have had to accept vacancies in uncongenial occupations. Table 9.8 also illustrates very clearly how a poor standard of education was a particular disadvantage to West Indians. In the bottom educational stratum, West Indians had nearly twice as many complaints relating to job content (40% compared to 20%), whereas in the top stratum the frequency of complaints of this kind was lower, and nearly the same in both groups (30% and 28%).

The relatively high degree of contentment with their work displayed by the less qualified white leavers agrees with their job assessments which showed them to be generally quite interested in, and proud of, their jobs (see Table 9.1). Many had good reason to be pleased, having secured work in relatively skilled occupations, despite their lack of qualifications. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these less qualified Whites, in contrast to their Early Migrant counterparts, were generally as satisfied with their employment as were their peers who had a higher standard of education and

Table 9.8 (continued)

	Occupational group											
	Higher non-manual				Skilled manual				Lower manual/ non-manual			
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
Fully satisfied with present job	56		40		67		44		48		19	
Had complaints about:												
Job content												
Disliked nature of the work	5		8		4		12		8		22	
Disliked particular aspects of the work	10	26	12	38	6	14	8	34	5	35	8	52
Found the work boring	9		15		2		9		16		19	
Work too heavy/tiring	2		3		2		5		6		3	
Working conditions												
Bad physical working conditions	1	4	3	8	8	10	—	9	3	9	6	11
Lengthly hours	3		5		2		9		6		5	
Pay	11		15		8		12		12		25	
Lack of prospects	3		2		1		2		6		5	
Training	2		2		—		6		2		3	
Fellow workers	4		8		2		2		—		5	
Supervisors	5		3		3		2		3		8	
Other complaints	7		8		1		3		2		3	
Dissatisfied, but for no particular reason	1		3		1		2		—		3	
	183		*130*		*105*		*129*		*64*		*63*	

Table 9.9 Complaints about current job by how closely the occupation corresponded to what the leaver had originally wanted

	Leaver's current job was:											
	In desired occupation				Not in desired occupation but in same occupational group				In different occupational group to desired occupation			
	Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants		Whites		Early Migrants	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
Fully satisfied with present job	76		60		44		26		34		13	
Had complaints about:												
Job content												
Disliked nature of the work	1		3		10		14		10		25	
Disliked particular aspects of the work	6	10	8	20	12	33	13	51	6	44	8	57
Found the work boring	2		5		9		19		21		21	
Work too heavy/tiring	1		4		2		5		7		3	
Working conditions												
Bad physical working conditions	2	4	2	4	2	6	11	14	7	13	8	12
Lengthy hours	2		2		4		3		6		4	
Pay	6		13		17		17		13		19	
Lack of prospects	2		1		3		2		6		5	
Training	—		2		3		6		1		4	
Fellow workers	1		4		7		6		3		7	
Supervisors	2		1		9		3		4		7	
Other complaints	2		5		3		4		7		5	
Dissatisfied, but for no particular reason	1		4		1		—		—		4	
Base (all employed leavers who had a desired job)	*172*		*131*		*89*		*99*		*70*		*75*	

Totals come to more than 100% because many informants gave more than one reason for being dissatisfied.

who naturally tended also to secure better jobs. This suggests that many Whites in the bottom educational stratum tended to be rather unambitious (or very realistic) about the standard of the jobs they could expect to get.

The leavers' complaints have not been sub-divided by sex because we found that the answers of the girls and boys were very similar. The only differences worth mentioning were that girls in both ethnic groups were slightly more prone to complain about the unfriendliness of the people they worked with, but were less disgruntled about their physical working conditions. The latter was no doubt because girls were less often employed in workshops and factories.

The parents' views

The parents' were also asked what they thought of their children's employment; the answers are summarised in Table 9.10.

The table compares the overall distribution of opinions, for the parents and children in each group. The parents' views show the same general trends as their children's, except that the West Indian parents' replies tend to be more polarised. The general pattern of the responses of white parents and children were much more alike.

The tendency for West Indian parents to take a rather unsubtle view of their children's jobs could be because they were less well informed about their children's employment. Whereas 46% of Whites said they 'often' talked to their children about how they were getting on at work (42% claiming to have done so in the last couple of days), only 29% of the Early and Later Migrants' parents said they 'often' discussed such matters at home. As many as 23% of the Early Migrants' parents and 33% of the Later Migrants' said they never or hardly ever did so – compared with 13% of the Whites.

Summary

In the top educational stratum the Whites and Early Migrants had similar opinions about most aspects of their work. But amongst people with lower standards of education there was a considerable divergence in the job evaluations of the two groups of leavers. Early Migrants in the bottom educational stratum (in common with Later Migrants of all eduational levels) tended to have a very low estimation of their employment. In contrast, the job assessments of the equivalent Whites were often as favourable as those given by the better qualified leavers. The general standard of the jobs of Later Migrants and less educated Early Migrants was undoubtedly inferior to that of Whites who had similar qualifications. But a further factor, contributing to the divergences in the leavers' job assessments, was that the Whites with few qualifications appeared to be more readily contented with lower grade occupations, than were their West Indian counterparts.

Table 9.10 Satisfaction with leaver's current job; a comparison of the views of parents and their children

	Whites		Early Migrants		Later Migrants	
	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	59	60	38	49	32	44
Fairly satisfied	34	30	47	25	43	21
Dissatisfied	7	10	14	26	25	35
*Base**	*339*		*288*		*104*	

* *The bases consist of all families in which the sampled children were currently in employment* and *their parents had been interviewed.*

The difference in the standard of the jobs obtained by West Indians and Whites varied according to the type of occupation entered. Although (as noted in Chapter 8) West Indians were less likely to get higher non-manual jobs, when they did so they rated their conditions of employment as being, in most respects, on a similar level to the Whites'. West Indian skilled manual workers had much lower opinions of their jobs – especially with regard to the level and quality of the training they were being given – compared to Whites in similar occupations. This is in keeping with our finding (in Chapter 8) that although West Indians did not have any particular difficulty getting skilled manual employment, the occupations they entered were more frequently of the kind that needed relatively few qualifications. Similar, and even larger, differences occurred in relation to lower manual/non-manual occupations. Whites who had this kind of work tended not to think very highly of their jobs but the West Indians were far more critical, suggesting that West Indians had tended to get the least attractive jobs in this occupational group also.

As is to be expected, the leavers who got the jobs they had been seeking were generally more pleased with their employment, although the West Indians of both sexes, and regardless of their education or occupation, tended to be less content than Whites about their pay, job security and relationships with supervisors and workmates.

Most of the 26% of Early Migrants and 37% of Whites who had obtained jobs in their preferred occupations, with conditions of emloyment that lived up fully to their expectations, were very satisfied. Those who found their desired jobs disappointing, however, were often less content than people who had failed to enter their preferred occupations, but had obtained suitable alternative work. On the other hand, 17% of West Indians who had failed to get into the occupations they had wanted ended up in jobs which they considered totally inadequate in all respects. Very few (7%) of Whites found themselves in this situation.

Although parents did not always entirely agree with their children's views, their general outlooks were very similar. West Indian parents, however, tended to give more extreme answers, which may have been because they were less well informed about their children's employment.

10 Revised plans for the future

In the preceding chapters we have seen how, especially in the two West Indian groups, many leavers had been diverted from their ambitions and had to accept jobs in alternative occupations which they often found to be disappointing. Many had difficulties because they were ill-qualified for the jobs they were striving for; this being a particular handicap for West Indians. Others were frustrated in their ambitions, no doubt, simply because there were few opportunities available in their preferred occupations. As so many leavers appear to have made up their minds about what they wanted to do without paying much heed to professional or parental counsel (see Chapter 6), it was perhaps inevitable that some of them set out with unsuitable aspirations. The purpose of this chapter will be to examine how the leavers adjusted their future aims, in the light of their experiences.

All who had failed to get the jobs they wanted were asked to say what they were intending to do in the immediate future. Whether, for instance, they were proposing to remain in their present employment; continue trying for the jobs they had originally wanted; or aim for something completely new. In addition, everyone was asked what they hoped to be doing in five years time. A few were uncertain about their long term objectives: in these cases we have had to be content with what they said they intended doing in the immediate future. Others, although they were quite clear about their future aims, were in the meantime proposing to do something different. Many of these latter people were under-age for the jobs they hoped ultimately to enter (including many prospective nurses) and were therefore only concerned for the time being to obtain 'stop-gap' jobs. In these circumstances we have only taken heed of our informants' long term aims.

It should also be noted that when classifying the jobs our informants aspired to we were concerned primarily to measure the consistency of their occupational orientation. That is, whether a leaver still had the same ambition as before, and if not, whether the person now wanted a different job of the same general type, or a totally different sort of employment in another occupational group. Where the only change was that the person hoped to have been promoted within the next five years, this was disregarded, as not being an indicator of a change in personal intentions. Thus, if a person currently employed as a machine operator was hoping to be a charge-hand, or a sales assistant was expecting within five years to become an under-manager, in both instances the person was treated as intending to remain in the same type of job, in the sense of being on the same 'career path'. Similarly, if a person anticipated moving to a different occupational group and to have been promoted, all within five years, the new job was classified in terms of the basic grade for that occupation. This procedure ensured that all variations in the occupational classification of future aspirations and present jobs, or original ambitions, were a genuine reflection of changes in our informants' personal intentions; although in practice it made only a small difference to the classifications, as the occupational groups proved to be sufficiently broad to encompass most anticipated promotions within the same groups as their corresponding basic grades.

Comparison of original ambitions with present jobs and future aspirations

The first two tables show the extent to which people's ambitions had changed since leaving school. These tables portray only major shifts between occupational groups, not as between jobs of the same general occupational type. Many people, though they had not changed their minds about the general character (that is, the occupational group) of the work they wanted, no longer desired exactly the same type of job as before. Such changes will be examined, in detail, presently (see Tables 10.3 and 10.4).

Table 10.1 shows there was a slight tendency for boys (particularly the Whites) to abandon their ambitions to enter manual employment and to opt instead for higher non-manual work. Otherwise, most boys appear to have retained broadly the same aspirations as they had when leaving school. White girls, in common with West Indians of both sexes, had adhered very closely to their original ambitions: the figures at (a) at the foot of Table 10.1 showing that 91% to 96% of girls still wanted jobs in the same occupational groups as previously, compared to 84% of white boys and 90% to 96% of West Indian boys.

The most striking feature of Table 10.1, however, is the extent to which people who had had, involuntarily, to accept lower grade manual/non-manual employment remained determined to get better jobs for themselves. This was especially true of the West Indians. From the beginning, Whites had been slightly more willing to accept such jobs: 9% of boys and 11% of girls, compared with 3%–4% of West Indian boys and 5%–6% of West Indian girls. In practice, however, the propensity to get work of this kind bore little relationship to the

Table 10.1 Occupational grouping of current aspiration compared with that of current/last job and ambition when left school by sex of leaver

Occupational group	Boys									Girls								
	Matched Whites			Early Migrants			Later Migrants			Matched Whites			Early Migrants			Later Migrants		
	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Upper non-manual	18	24	26	12	10	15	14	10	19	74	80	77	86	69	82	92	57	93
Skilled manual	65	49	56	80	66	75	80	57	76	9	7	7	6	10	9	1	3	1
Lower manual/ non-manual	9	24	13	4	22	4	3	26	4	11	12	11	5	16	6	6	32	4
Uncertain what to do	6	..	4	3	..	2	3	..	1	6	..	4	2	..	2	1	..	—
Had not yet had a job	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	5	..	..	7	..
Insufficient information	2	1	1	2	—	4	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	2	—	1	1
Base (all leavers)	*197*			*197*			*70*			*176*			*176*			*72*		
Occupational group of job now wanted was same as for:																		
(a) Original ambition	84%			90%			96%			91%			91%			96%		
(b) Current/last job	79%			77%			70%			93%			74%			65%		
Base† (= 100%) (a)	*180*			*181*			*68*			*162*			*167*			*70*		
(b)	*179*			*175*			*63*			*162*			*157*			*65*		

† *(a) = leavers who knew what they wanted to do when leavng school* and *six months later, (b) = leavers who had had a job* and *knew what they wanted to do six months later.*

leavers' ambitions. Difficulties in obtaining skilled manual jobs had compelled many boys (approximately a quarter of both the Whites and West Indians) to enter these lower grade jobs. In consequence, a few more white boys had now reconciled themselves to remaining in this kind of employment: 13%, compared to the 9% who had originally set out to get this kind of work. Virtually none of the West Indian boys who had entered lower manual/non-manual employment against their wishes wanted to keep it.

Nearly all the white girls (93%) had succeeded in getting jobs of the general type they had been aiming for (see (b) at foot of Table 10.1), but West Indian girls (especially Later Migrants) had been much less fortunate and, like their male counterparts, many had had to accept jobs in the lower stratum, contrary to their wishes. Again, as with the boys, the West Indian girls were most reluctant to accept their situation and almost invariably declared themselves still intent on getting the type of employment they had originally hoped for.

Some people who had higher non-manual or skilled manual work wished to change from one to the other. When these are added to those who wanted to move out from the lower manual/non-manual occupational group into better jobs, we find (see (b) at foot of Table 10.1) that altogether, 21% of the white boys and 23% to 30% of the West Indian boys hoped eventually to enter different occupational groups. Amongst the girls, only 7% of the Whites wanted a change from the general nature of their present work, compared to 26% of the Early Migrant girls and as many as 35% of the Later Migrants. Thus, in both sexes, but especially amongst the girls, West Indians were more likely to want a radical change from the type of work they were currently doing.

Table 10.2 examines the influence of education on the trends discussed above. It shows that the general tendency for West Indians to be more determined to adhere to their original ambitions and to be more anxious to move from the occupational groups in which they were presently employed, was particularly marked amongst leavers in the bottom educational stratum. Amongst these poorly qualified leavers, as many as 25% of the Whites, 27% of Early Migrants and 40% of Later Migrants had entered lower manual/non-manual jobs. As we observed earlier, however, despite the nature of their work, less qualified Whites were often just as content with their jobs as were better qualified leavers: the equivalent West Indians were less easily satisfied with low grade employment (see Chapter 9). The difference in outlook amongst leavers in the bottom educational stratum is demonstrated again in Table 10.2. Thus, the table shows that, six months after leaving school, 18% of the Whites in this stratum had decided that they were content to remain in lower

Table 10.2 Occupational group of current aspirations compared with that of current/last job and ambition when left school by leaver's educational level

Occupational group	Educational level																				
	Low									Medium									High					
	Matched Whites			Early Migrants			Later Migrants			Matched Whites			Early Migrants			Later Migrants			Matched Whites			Early Migrants		
	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration	Original ambition	Actual job	Current aspiration
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Upper non-manual	39	41	46	38	25	38	40	13	42	42	50	45	50	43	48	66	53	68	58	70	65	58	52	58
Skilled manual	42	31	34	52	42	48	53	42	53	37	31	36	43	40	42	28	15	23	36	24	27	36	34	39
Lower manual/non-manual	15	25	18	7	27	7	5	40	3	9	18	12	3	16	5	2	21	6	1	6	4	1	12	1
Uncertain what to do	3	..	1	3	..	3	2	..	2	10	..	6	1	..	3	4	..	—	2	..	5	4	..	—
Had not yet had a job	..	2	..	..	6	..	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	9	..	..	—	..	..	2	..
Insufficient information	1	1	1	1	—	4	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	2	—	2	2	2	—	—	1	—	2
Base (All leavers)		*151*			*151*			*62*			*139*			*139*			*47*			*83*			*83*	
Occupational group of job now wanted was same as for: (a) Original ambition		84%			89%			98%			89%			90%			93%			90%			94%	
(b) Current/last job		80%			66%			53%			87%			82%			83%			95%			81%	
Base† *(= 100%)* *(a)*		*144*			*139*			*61*			*121*			*131*			*44*			*77*			*78*	
(b)		*139*			*127*			*57*			*125*			*127*			*41*			*77*			*78*	

† *(a) = leavers who knew what they wanted to do when leaving school* and *six months later; (b) = leavers who had had a job and knew what they wanted to do six months later.*

Table 10.3 Consistency of occupational orientation by ethnicity, sex and educational level

Table 10.3 Consistency of occupational orientation by ethnicity, sex and educational level

	All			Sex						Educational level							
				Boys			Girls			Low			Medium			High	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
Six months after leaving school:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Still wanted same job as before*	62	72	83	56	70	83	69	74	83	58	67	90	62	73	79	70	80
Wanted different job but in same occupational group	18	12	10	21	13	10	15	12	10	23	15	6	16	12	8	13	8
Wanted a job in a different occupational group	12	9	4	15	9	4	9	9	4	15	10	2	9	9	6	10	6
Uncertain of what to do when leaving school and/or 6 months later	7	3	2	7	4	3	6	3	1	3	3	2	10	3	4	4	4
Insufficient information	2	3	1	2	4	—	2	2	1	1	5	—	3	3	2	2	2
Base (All leavers)	*373*		*142*	*197*		*70*	*176*		*72*	*151*		*62*	*139*		*47*	*83*	

* *Including some people who had always had the same ultimate ambition, although* initially *they aimed to get other jobs. These were mostly persons wanting eventually to enter occupations such as nursing, for which they were too young when first leaving school.*

manual/non-manual employment, as compared to only 7% of Early Migrants and 5% of Later Migrants.

The general trends described above were found to be common to both London and Birmingham.

Consistency of occupational orientation

Table 10.3 examines, in greater detail, how ready the leavers were to modify their original job preferences. Although most people still wanted the same general type of employment as they had set out to get when leaving school, the table shows that a substantial proportion were now content with work which, while being in their desired occupational group, was somewhat different to that which they had originally sought. The table demonstrates that the willingness of Whites and Early Migrants to adjust their aspirations in this way increased as their educational levels fell. This, almost certainly, is because less educated leavers tended to have greater difficulty entering their preferred occupations because of their meagre qualifications. The data for Later Migrants shows a conflicting trend; in this case it was the better qualified leavers who proved to be slightly more adaptable. However, once again, this is consistent with our findings throughout, that educational differences had less influence on the experiences and behaviour of Later Migrants, and the fact that even when they were well qualified for the jobs they wanted they often failed to get them (see Chapter 7). Of greater interest, is the further evidence which Table 10.3 provides of the general tendency for Whites to be more adaptable. In both sexes (but especially amongst boys), and at every educational level, Whites were more ready to drop their original job preferences and to accept vacancies in occupations of a related type. Here the explanation is less obvious, but is probably linked with the fact that on closer examination it was found that the people who were most likely to be contented with a job in a related occupation were those who, having failed to get the jobs they originally tried for, chose to remain in their current employment. As the alternative work that Whites had had to accept was more likely to satisfy their needs (see Table 9.2), they were naturally more prepared to stay in it.

Table 10.4 investigates the extent to which, when revising their plans for the future, leavers had also lowered their standards and reconciled themselves to occupations that had less demanding entry requirements. Section (A) shows that although many people had now modified their ambitions, there was relatively little change in the general level of the jobs they were hoping to have in the future. Only the Whites showed a slight tendency to lower their aspirations. Consequently, as section (B) of the table shows, amongst the West Indians especially, there were still many people who were intent on entering occupations for which they were ill-qualified; and as many as 40% to 45% of West Indians and 24% of Whites were hoping eventually to get better jobs for themselves.

Table 10.4 Minimum qualifications usually required for current aspirations, compared with those usually needed for ambition when leaving school, and for current/last job

	Matched Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%
(A) Current aspirations required qualifications that were:			
Lower than for original ambition	11	9	6
Similar as for original ambition	75	78	84
Higher than for original ambition	6	9	7
Did not know what wanted to do when leaving school and/or six months later	7	3	2
Insufficient information	1	1	1
Base (All leavers)	*373*	*373*	*142*
(B) Proportion who were:			
(a) academically qualified for current aspirations	56%	47%	41%
(b) academically qualified for original ambition	51%	45%	42%
(c) whose current aspirations required HIGHER qualifications than current/last job	24%	40%	45%
Bases† *(a)*	*357*	*360*	*140*
(b)	*350*	*364*	*139*
(c)	*352*	*344*	*130*

† *(a) All leavers who knew what they wanted to do in the future.*
(b) All leavers who had a definite job in mind when leaving school.
(c) All leavers who had had a job and *kenw what they wanted to do in the future.*

Reasons people wished to change their jobs

So far we have discussed the leavers' future plans in terms of the *nature of the work* they wanted to do, and its entry requirements. In the next two tables we examine how the desire to change jobs was related to the general characteristics and conditions of people's current employment. In Table 10.5 we find, as one would expect, that much depended on the extent to which their current employment had the particular features which their occupants felt were most important in a job. Between 58% and 68% of those who wished to stay in their present occupations had achieved what they wanted, and nearly all the remainder had been partially successful. In contrast, very many of the jobs that people wished to leave were largely or totally lacking in the characteristics that their occupants felt a good job should possess – this being particularly the case amongst the West Indians. The table also shows, however, that 35% of the Whites and 17%–19% of the West Indians who wanted a change, already had jobs which met their occupants' principal requirements. These were often people who (despite the attractions of their existing work) were still hoping eventually to be accepted into the occupations they had tried, but failed, to enter when leaving school. Such people, however, constituted only a small proportion (9% to 10%) of the leavers in each group. Most people who had found em-

Table 10.5 Current aspirations by whether current job had the three features most desired

In current job leaver's three most desired job features said to be:	Had succeeded in entering desired occupation, or had failed but decided to remain in present occupation:			Wanted to change from current occupation:*		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Entirely or largely achieved	64	58	68	35	19	17
Partly achieved	35	39	26	44	46	42
Entirely or largely unachieved	1	3	6	21	35	42
Base†	*236*	*161*	*48*	*96*	*150*	*62*

† *Leavers who knew what they wanted to do when leaving school and six months later, and who had a job at the time of the first interview.*
* *Including persons who had failed to enter their desired occupations but still wished to do so, and others who had decided to aim for a job different from both their original ambition and from what they had at present.*

NB *See Appendix III for how the leaver's three most desired job features were determined.*

ployment in which their three most desired job features were entirely or largely achieved, were content to stay in it, even though the kind of work they were doing was often not quite what they had first aimed for.

Table 10.6 compares the detailed job assessments of the people who were content to remain in their present occupations with those of people who were looking for alternative employment. As the intrinsic interest of the work and the quality of the training provided were generally given a very high priority in the minds of most leavers (see Chapter 4), it is the possession of these features (along with the amount of pride taken in the job) which most sharply differentiates the occupations which people wanted to retain from those they wished to leave. But perhaps the most striking thing about these job assessments is the tendency for those who wanted a change of employment to have a low opinion of almost every aspect of their current work, even including the friendliness of their fellow workers. It is possible that this is in part the consequence of a 'halo effect', the tendency for dissatisfaction over one thing to lead one to disparage everything else associated with it. On the other hand, it should also be recalled that many of these jobs were in low grade occupations about which it is hardly surprising that people tended to be very critical (see Table 9.2).

Table 10.6 also illustrates once again, the low standard of the jobs which many West Indians had had to accept, but in which they were unwilling to remain. This is especially evident in relation to the level of skill required, the interest and pride they had in their work, and its security.

Where they had succeeded in getting the jobs they wanted, or had failed but decided to remain in their present employment, the views of Whites and West Indians were fairly similar, on most topics. The main divergences were that, as usual, Early Migrants were more likely to feel they were underpaid, that their jobs were insecure and that their supervisors did not treat them very well (see Chapter 9). The Later Migrants who wished to remain in their current occupations tended to have a slightly low opinion of the skill level of their work, but otherwise they also thought highly of most aspects of their employment. Unlike the Early Migrants, these Later Migrants appeared to get on particularly well with their fellow workers and supervisors.

The figures at the foot of the table remind us, however, that taking each group as a whole, the West Indians had been far less successful in getting congenial employment. Whereas 71% of employed Whites now had jobs which they felt to be generally adequate to their needs, as many as 48% of Early Migrants and 56% of Later Migrants were still searching.

Summary

During the six months that had elapsed since they left school there was a slight tendency for white boys to relinquish their hopes of getting skilled manual jobs and to opt for higher non-manual work, or, especially in the case of those who were less qualified, for lower manual/non-manual employment. West Indian boys also displayed a similar tendency to shift toward higher non-manual occupations, but unlike the Whites, virtually none of the West Indians who had entered lower grade occupations involuntarily, wished to remain in that type of employment. Most of the white girls, in common with the West Indians, wished to keep within the same occupational group as they had originally aspired to enter when leaving school.

However, while most leavers still wanted the same general type of work as they had originally aimed for, many who had failed to get the particular jobs they had first sought after had modified their ambitions and reconciled themselves to remaining in a different occupation of a similar type. Less qualified leavers were especially liable to have to adapt their ambitions in this way, probably because they were more likely to have encountered difficulties in securing vacancies in the occupations to which they had originally aspired, owing to their meagre qualifications.

At every educational level, and in both sexes, it was the West Indians (especially the Later Migrants) who

Table 10.6 Current aspirations by satisfaction with, and characteristics of current job

Leaver's feelings about present job:	Had succeeded in entering desired occupation, or had failed but decided to remain in present occupation			Wanted to change from current occupation:*		
	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Overall						
Very satisfied	73	55	60	25	21	10
Fairly satisfied	25	42	33	55	49	50
Dissatisfied	2	2	6	20	30	40
Interest in work						
High	76	79	77	43	29	26
Medium	21	19	15	29	42	40
Low	3	2	8	28	29	34
Pride in work						
High	70	70	79	27	25	10
Medium	28	27	13	45	31	35
Low	2	4	8	28	45	55
Level of training required to do job						
High	70	77	64	51	39	31
Medium	20	12	15	17	21	26
Low	10	11	21	32	41	44
Quality of training provided						
High	67	67	73	24	23	15
Medium	24	21	19	33	35	24
Low	9	12	8	43	41	61
Pay						
High	47	36	44	28	25	29
Medium	36	37	37	42	39	32
Low	17	27	19	30	36	39
Security of employment						
High	64	54	65	46	26	24
Medium	28	37	24	38	33	41
Low	9	9	11	17	41	36
Friendliness of fellow workers						
High	78	76	88	72	63	61
Medium	20	20	6	24	30	27
Low	1	4	6	4	7	11
Satisfaction with treatment by supervisors						
High	78	69	81	57	52	48
Medium	22	31	19	43	43	40
Low	0	—	—	—	5	11
Base†	*236*	*161*	*48*	*96*	*150*	*62*
Proportions in each situation	71%	52%	44%	29%	48%	56%

† *Leavers who knew what they wanted to do when leaving school and six months later, and who had a job at the time of the first interview.*
* *Including persons who had failed to enter their desired occupations but still wished to do so, and others who had decided to aim for a job different from both their original ambition and from what they had at present.*

adhered most tenaciously to their original aims. This was due in part to the greater reluctance of West Indians to accept low grade jobs. Another contributory factor was that Whites were not only more successful in getting the jobs they wanted, but also when they failed to do so, they were more likely, than were West Indians, to gain entry to alternative occupations of a similar type which broadly satisfied their needs. In consequence, Whites were more willing to remain in the jobs they already had, even though their work was often not quite what they had first set out to get. But although people were often ready to accept alternative jobs they were seldom prepared to reconcile themselves to work of an inferior standard. Whites had tended to lower their expectations a little, but the general standard of the jobs that West Indians planned on having in the future remained much as before.

In all three groups of leavers there were a few people (9% to 10%) who had still not given up their hopes of getting into the particular occupations they had wanted when leaving school, even though they had already secured alternative employment which gave them most of the things they desired such as interesting work, adequate provision for training, etc. Most people in these circumstances, however, were content to remain where they were. But as West Indians had been initially much less successful in obtaining satisfying employment, they were far more unsettled than the Whites. Thus, six months after leaving school, as many as 48% of Early Migrants and 56% of Later Migrants were seeking to leave what they felt to be unsatisfactory occupations; as compared to 29% of Whites. However very many were ill-qualified for the jobs they were after. This is no doubt one of the reasons that, as will be shown in the next chapter, West Indians were especially keen to improve their vocational qualifications through part-time further education.

11 Further Education

As our informants had left school only a few months before they were interviewed, little can be said now about their relative success in obtaining further qualifications through attendance on part-time courses of Further Education (FE). We shall confine our attention to examining divergences in rates of attendance between the various groups and to exploring the reasons for the differences. All the courses included here were of a general educational or vocational character; those that were recreational only have been excluded. A very large proportion of the students were working for City and Guilds qualifications. Such courses are characteristically sub-divided into several levels or stages through which the student works progressively. The content of these courses often varies considerably at each stage. A description of the subjects being studied and the level of the course currently being attended, at the time of the first interview, would therefore tell the reader relatively little about the types of qualifications the leavers were aiming for. Consequently, we have reserved consideration of this aspect of their studies until the next volume when we shall detail the qualifications eventually obtained, by subject and level (see Volume 2, Chapter 7). Account will be taken here, however, of whether attendance was in the evenings only, or with the benefit of time off from work – through Day Release, Block Release or Sandwich Courses – as this is a useful measure of the extent of the training facilities offered at the leaver's place of employment.

Frequency of attendance on part-time courses of Further Education

Firstly, Table 11.1 measures the degree to which the individual matched pairs differed in their propensity to attend courses, and shows that where their behaviour differed – which it did in approximately a half of the sample – the West Indians were more than twice as likely to be attending a course, as compared with the matched Whites who were of the same sex and who had a similar level of educational attainment when leaving school. Table 11.2 includes the Later Migrants and shows the group differences in rates of attendance, separately for boys and girls, and by educational level. The table confirms that the West Indian rate of attendance in each sub-group was invariably higher than the Whites'. The white girls, in particular, had a rather low attendance rate: only 29% were currently attending a course of any type, compared with 41% of their male counterparts and 45%–51% of the West Indian girls. Moreover, all the girls, both white and West Indian, were much less likely to benefit from schemes which gave them time off from work to pursue their studies. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the strong association between apprenticeships, which are an almost exclusive male preserve, and Day Release (see Table 11.3).

Table 11.1 Attendance on courses of Further Education by matched pairs

Early Migrants	Matched Whites: Had attended	Matched Whites: Not Attended	Totals
Had attended	20% *76*	33% *122*	*198*
Not attended	15% *55*	32% *120*	*175*
Totals	*131*	*242*	*Base (=100%) 373*

The Later Migrants of both sexes were less likely to have obtained jobs which offered Day Release, but Early Migrants – the girls in particular – had fared as well or better than their matched Whites, in this respect. The reason the Early Migrant girls surpassed their White matches in being given time off to study was that there were more student nurses in the West Indian samples.

The marked differences in the propensity to attend courses held only in the evenings is especially interesting. The pattern of distribution of the differences suggests they are the product of the interaction of three distinct factors, determining the leaver's response to not being given time off to study. First, there is the greater desire of West Indians in general to acquire

Table 11.2 Attendance on courses of Further Education by type of course,

Type of course attended	All: Whites	All: Early Migrants	All: Later Migrants
	%	%	%
Day Release (or similar – requiring time off from work)*	26	28	19
Evenings only	8	25	29
Had not attended a course	65	47	52
Base (all leavers)	*373*		*142*

** Including Sandwich and Block Release Courses etc – but mainly Day Release. Students attending this type of course were very often* also *required to attend in the evenings, in their own time.*

vocational qualifications, clearly demonstrated earlier, (see Chapter 4 pages 5–8), which is measured by the variations in overall rates of attendance between the matched groups. Secondly, the marked sex difference in evening-class membership, which is evident in all groups, correlates with the lack of opportunity for girls to get time off to study. Finally the exceptionally low success of the Later Migrant boys and girls in obtaining this facility corresponds with each having the highest rate of evening attendance for their sex. The cumulative effects of these three influences produces a continuum, at one extreme of which we have the white boys whose participation in FE was almost entirely with the aid of schemes like Day Release (37% compared with 4% attending in the evenings only) whilst at the opposite extreme there are the Later Migrant girls, three quarters of whose attendance was through evening classes only: 12% Day Release and 37% in the evenings. It should be observed, moreover, that despite these girls' restricted access to Day Release facilities, they still had a rate of attendance on courses of FE that was marginally *higher* than that of the White boys: a notable demonstration of the West Indian drive to acquire qualifications.

These ethnic, sex and category differences were found to be common to both London and Birmingham.

Further education and the leaver's educational level when leaving school

Table 11.2 shows that there was also a strong positive correlation between educational attainment at school, entering a course of FE, and obtaining the benefit of Day Release facilities. The association was especially marked amongst the Early Migrants. White leavers in the top two educational strata had fairly similar proportions attending through Day Release and by evening classes; but in the bottom stratum the Whites had much lower rates of attendance by Day Release, than did other Whites. The Early Migrants show a more consistent increase, both in overall rates of participation in FE and in access to Day Release, as their educational standards rose. The table also demonstrates that the general tendency for West Indians to attend courses of FE more often than Whites held true at every educational level, but that it was especially the case amongst the better educated leavers. As many as 80% of the Early Migrants in the top educational stratum were attending courses, as compared to 40% of the equivalent Whites.

The strong correlation, amongst Early Migrants, between the leaver's educational standard and being allowed time off from work to attend a course of FE, is yet a further illustration of the considerable effect that differences in educational standards had on the quality of the jobs obtained by Early Migrants.

The connection between training status and further education

An obvious influence on an employer's willingness to give a school leaver time off from work to study for vocational qualifications, and on the employee's incentive to enter FE, is whether the leaver was in a formal training scheme/programme, either through an apprenticeship or some other comparable arrangement. Table 11.3 shows that most apparentices benefitted from Day Release or similar schemes which afforded time off from work to study. Only one in ten of the majority who did not have any formal training status had similar opportunities. People who were designated as 'trainees' fell between these two extremes, with 38% to 42% being given Day Release. West Indian apprentices were granted Day Release slightly less often, however, than were White apprentices.

Our informants' personal evaluations of the level of skill required in their jobs, and of the quality of training provided by their employers (see Chapter 9), were also found to be related to whether they were granted Day Release or similar facilities. This confirmed that the higher the level of skill and the quality of training provided in the job, the more likely the employee was to receive time off from work to pursue a course of further education, but that at every skill level West Indians were much more likely, than were Whites, to attend evening classes if they failed to get Day Release.

sex and leaver's educational level

Sex						Educational level					
Boys			Girls			Low		Medium		High	
Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
37	35	26	15	20	12	15	13	35	33	33	46
4	16	21	14	35	37	9	23	10	22	7	34
59	49	53	71	45	51	76	64	55	45	60	20
197		*70*	*176*		*72*	*151*		*139*		*83*	

Table 11.3 Attendance on courses of Further Education by training status and occupational group of current/last job

Type of course attended	Training status						Occupational group of present or last job					
	Apprentice		Trainee etc		None		Skilled manual		Upper non-manual		Lower non-manual/ manual	
	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants	Whites	Early Migrants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Day Release (or similar – requiring time off work)*	81	72	38	42	11	10	49	38	21	27	9	11
Evenings only	4	10	8	23	10	29	3	21	13	33	4	19
Had not attended a course	15	18	54	34	79	61	48	41	66	40	87	70
Base (all who had had a job since leaving school)	*58*	*61*	*66*	*64*	*244*	*236*	*110*	*147*	*189*	*141*	*68*	*73*
Proportions having each training status/in each occupational group	16%	17%	17%	15%	67%	68%	30%	41%	51%	39%	19%	20%

* *See notes to Table 11.2*

Further education and the employee's occupational group

Table 11.3 also examines rates of participation in part-time courses of further education, by occupational group. The skilled manual workers had the highest level of participation through Day Release because many were apprentices. The lesser rates of Day Release in the other two occupational groups are commensurate with their differences in skill levels and need for formal vocational training. It is the ethnic variations in the proportions benefiting from Day Release, however, that are of most interest. In higher non-manual occupations we find that Early Migrants were slightly more likely to be afforded this facility (27% compared to 21% of Whites) because there were more student nurses in the West Indian sample*. It will also be observed that this occupational group shows the largest ethnic divergence in the overall frequency of participation in further education: ie 34% of Whites were attending classes, compared to 60% of West Indians. This is because three quarters of the people with higher non-manual jobs were girls, and as was noted earlier, although West Indian girls were as keen to acquire further qualifications as were boys, the White girls displayed much less interest (see Table 11.2).

In skilled manual occupations, which were largely confined to boys, relatively *fewer* West Indians obtained Day Release (38% compared to 49% of Whites) because West Indians were less successful in securing apprenticeships, and when they did so, they were less likely to be given Day Release (see Table 11.3). This agrees with our earlier observations about the differences in the quality of the skilled manual jobs obtained by Whites and West Indians (see Chapters 8 and 9).

In the lower manual/non-manual group of occupations only about one in ten people were given Day Release, and the majority of both the Whites and the West Indians had not attended a course of further education of any kind. Although, once again, as in the other two occupational groups, it was the West Indians who had the highest overall rate of attendance, largely because of their being more likely to go to evening classes in their own time when they failed to get time off from work to attend.

Summary

The stress which West Indians placed on getting on well in their jobs and acquiring a good vocational training when we examined their general attitudes to work (see Chapter 4), was manifested again in their enthusiasm for part-time further education. The differences in the attitudes of Whites and West Indians was especially pronounced amongst the girls. Whereas West Indian girls were as keen as boys to attend further education courses, white girls were much less interested. The West Indian girls' enthusiasm for further education was particularly striking in view of the fact that, in common with white girls, they were much less likely to be given time off from work to pursue their studies.

Access to Day Release, or Sandwich/Block Release, courses largely depended on whether the leaver was part of a formal training scheme at his or her place of work, apprentices being especially favoured. But West Indian skilled manual workers were less successful in securing apprenticeships, and when they did so, they were less likely to be given Day Release. In all types of occupation, however, when people failed to get time off from work to attend classes, West Indians of both sexes were much more likely than were Whites, to attend courses in their own time, in the evenings.

* Strictly speaking, student nurses do not receive time off from their employment to attend courses of further education, as their academic studies are conducted on hospital premises; but for present purposes their attendance at hospital-run classes has been treated as being equivalent to receiving Day Release.

12 Discrimination

In the course of examining the leavers' transition from school to work we have found, at every stage, evidence of discriminatory practices. Although discrimination was by no means the only cause of the problems experienced by West Indians (inadequate qualifications and less well informed parental guidance also being contributory factors) there can be little doubt that discriminatory recruiting practices were the major reason West Indians encountered especial difficulty in obtaining suitable employment.

Our purpose now will be to pull together our main findings relating to discrimination, which at present lie scattered throughout the preceding chapters, to see how far they fall into a coherent pattern. We shall not endeavour to ruminate on the psychological implications of our findings; our aim has been simply to describe the ways in which ethnocentric attitudes and practices were manifested. Nevertheless, we hope that by so doing some light may be cast on the general nature and causes of discrimination in the labour market.

Our general conclusions about the incidence of discrimination amongst employers, which have emerged from our analysis of the relative difficulty that Whites and West Indians had getting jobs, will then be compared with the leavers' own opinions. This will enable us to gain an idea of the degree to which West Indians were aware of discriminatory practices, and to observe how they reacted.

Firstly, however, it may be useful to remind the reader of the methods that have been employed to measure the ethnocentric bias in the teachers' and Careers Officers' assessments of the abilities of West Indians. In the absence of more objective means of measuring ability we have compared the teachers' and COs' assessments of the leavers' academic potential and general intelligence, with their educational attainments. As was explained in the Introduction, we were unable to administer the appropriate ability tests in schools, as originally planned, because some educational authorities felt that this would have been an unreasonable additional burden to impose on their teaching staff. It was judged impracticable to administer the tests subsequently, when the leavers were interviewed at home, because of the difficulty of controlling the conditions of their administration in this situation, and as it would also have greatly lengthened the interviews, with the danger that our informants might then have been less willing to co-operate in the follow-up.

Educational achievement, as measured by examination passes, is obviously only an approximate indicator of academic potential and general intelligence; although as the matched leavers had attended the same schools this should have helped to minimise differences in achievement due to variations in the quality of their education. However, as it is generally accepted, from the evidence furnished by other research, that West Indians tend to under-achieve at school, it is reasonable to assume that the general ability of our West Indian leavers is likely to have been at least equal to, and probably greater than, that of Whites with a similar level of educational attainment (see Chapters 1 and 3). If the assessments had been totally objective, this should have been reflected in the teachers' and COs' ratings of the leavers' academic potential and general intelligence. As, in practice, the West Indians tended to be assessed as having *less* ability than Whites with similar educational attainments, there can be little doubt that the assessments were affected by an ethnocentric bias.

Studying the ways in which Careers Officers underrated their West Indian clients' general capabilities and job suitability also offers a valuable guide to some of the factors which may have led prospective employers to discriminate against West Indian job applicants. In addition, an examination of how West Indians were regarded at every stage of their transition from school to work enables us to observe how the effects of biased attitudes tended to accumulate and to be reinforced as the leavers moved from school, to Careers Service, to prospective employers.

The influence of ethnocentric attitudes on assessments of ability

It was not our intention to make a serious endeavour to investigate what happens in schools. The evidence that teachers tended to underestimate the academic potential of their West Indian pupils is therefore no more than a fragmentary and largely unexplained finding. Moreover, the bias in relation to Early Migrants was fairly small. The disparity in the assessments of Later Migrants was notably larger, however, and in this instance there were indications that the teachers' judgements may have been influenced by the tendency for Later Migrants to appear (to their teachers) to be less socially mature (see Chapter 3).

The ethnocentric bias displayed by Careers Officers was much more pronounced than was the teachers'. According to the COs, the West Indians general intelli-

gence (especially the Later Migrants') tended to be inferior to that of Whites of a similar educational level (see Chapter 3). Careers Officers had access to school reports on their clients which gave details of their education and a varying amount of other information. There is the possibility, therefore, that the bias in the teachers' assessments might have been transmitted to the COs. However, so far as we were able to determine, this did *not* happen. COs appear to have been influenced primarily by the leavers' educational attainments and the impressions they gained from interviews with their clients (see Chapter 3).

The poor impression that COs tended to form of the West Indian leavers' abilities was also manifested in the COs' opinions of their clients' job suitability. At every educational level the Later Migrants' aspirations tended to be judged more severely than those of equivalently educated white leavers. This was also generally true of Early Migrants, except that in this group the bias in the assessments of the better qualified leavers was much less strong (see Chapter 5).

Despite their apparent bias, the COs' opinions of the suitability of their clients' aspirations proved to be especially accurate in forecasting whether West Indians would get the jobs they were after, implying that employers tended to assess the suitability of job applicants in a similar manner and with the same type of ethnocentric bias as COs (see Chapter 5). Further confirmation that this was so, is provided by the subsequent examination of the leavers' experiences when seeking employment (see Chapter 7). Judging by the success with which leavers were able to secure the jobs they sought, it appeared that employers tended invariably to favour white applicants, but that discrimination against Early Migrants was more acute in relation to less educated leavers. Later Migrants were especially disadvantaged. In addition, it was found that West Indians were particularly handicapped when they were ill-qualified for their desired jobs, relative to similarly under-qualified Whites. In these circumstances, when employers needed to make a personal judgement as to whether the applicant could do the job, despite his or her dubious qualifications, Whites were much more likely to be favoured. It was also found that when the general level of unemployment was higher (as in Birmingham) and employers could be more selective, West Indians found it particularly hard to get work, as compared with White leavers.

The COs' general intelligence and job suitability assessments have been shown to be closely correlated with the oral ability ratings they gave their clients. Oral ability and intelligence were also linked, as one would expect, to educational achievement, except that West Indians tended invariably to be thought less intelligent than Whites of a similar level of education (see Chapters 3 and 5). West Indians with accents also tended to be given lower oral ability ratings, especially when their accents were strong. It would appear, therefore, that one of the reasons that COs (and by inference, employers also) tended to form an unfavourable impression of the West Indians' capabilities was that, at least to a non-West Indian, they often appeared less able to express themselves effectively, as compared with similarly qualified Whites. On the other hand, it was also found that even when they were said to speak without a noticeable accent, and their oral abilities were assessed as being little different from Whites', the West Indians were still liable to be perceived as being less intelligent (see Chapter 3). Apart from the possibility that COs, like teachers, may have been influenced in their judgement of the Later Migrants by the latter's tendency to appear less mature, we could find no other explanation for these divergences in the ability assessments of Whites and West Indians.

The effect of greater acculturation

The process by which the bias in ability assessments was transferred to opinions about job suitability is complicated by the fact that not only were less educated West Indians more likely to possess strong accents, they were also, like many of their white counterparts, especially prone to be under-qualified for the jobs they were seeking. Moreover, the occupations which such people were best equipped to enter were naturally of the kind in which academic qualifications were of less relevance and where, therefore, the general impression that the person made on the CO, or prospective employer, was likely to be of particular importance, when assessing the applicant's suitability. Consequently, less educated West Indians were handicapped for several reasons; which is largely why the better educated Early Migrants were generally more successful (The better educated West Indians were also helped by the ready availability of vacancies for adequately qualified job applicants, at the time our informants were leaving school – see Volume 2, Chapter 11). Variations in educational standards made less difference to the fortunes of Later Migrants, probably because the advantage conferred by a better education was blunted by the general tendency of Later Migrants to be less anglicised in their speech and behaviour.

It is appropriate at this point to remind the reader that one of the main aims of this study was to investigate whether the employment problems that West Indian school leavers were reported to have been experiencing at the time this survey was first mounted, were largely confined to people who were newcomers to Britain, or whether similar difficulties were likely to afflict all young people of West Indian descent, even when they had spent all or most of their lives in this country.

Insofar as their difficulties were directly attributable to ethnocentric attitudes and discriminatory practices, it is clear that a longer period of residence in Britain appeared to improve the West Indians' chances of securing satisfactory employment, especially if they also had a fairly good standard of education. Less educated Early Migrants continued to suffer from many of the disadvantages experienced by Later Migrants, although not as acutely as did their less anglicised

peers. Nevertheless, even when they were relatively well educated and were adequately qualified for the jobs they were seeking, the Early Migrants still had to make more applications than did equivalent White leavers, and even then they tended to be less successful in getting the type of work they wanted. Equally noteworthy, especially in view of the currently high level of general unemployment, is the tendency for discrimination against West Indians to become more accentuated when, as in Birmingham, job competition intensified and employers were able to be more selective. The discriminatory practices and other constraints on job opportunities encountered by our informants pertain to a period when national levels of unemployment were relatively low. As the effects of these constraints tended to increase when jobs became harder to get, there can be little doubt that the problems that West Indians experienced at the start of our survey must be close to the minimum level of disadvantage they are likely to meet, and that the discriminatory attitudes and practices described here are persistent features of the labour market.

Other factors that might have contributed to ethnocentric assessments and discriminatory recruiting practices

The general tendency for West Indians' abilities to be underrated was apparent at every stage, and increased progressively, as the leavers moved from school, to Careers Services, to the labour market. We could find little evidence that this trend was due to biased attitudes being passed from one to the other. There were, however, important differences in the methods of assessment and the characteristics being measured at each stage which almost certainly contributed to making the assessments increasingly subjective and liable to be affected by personal bias. Firstly, there was the increasing superficiality of the information on which a judgement of the leaver's abilities and job suitability was based. Teachers had much the longest and closest acquaintance with the leavers. The COs' personal knowledge of their clients varied considerably, depending on how intensively the leaver used the Careers Service; but the West Indians in particular were likely to have been interviewed several times by a CO. The employers' contact with the leavers was the most superficial, being usually confined to a single interview.

Secondly, the characteristics being assessed were increasingly imprecise. The teachers were asked to rate their pupils' academic potential, which in practice meant their capacity to pass examinations – a topic about which the teachers had ample evidence from their pupils' classwork and, in many instances, from the 'mock' tests which are customary in many schools. The CO's task was to make a judgement on two much more diffuse topics: on their clients' general 'ability', in terms of general intelligence and oral skills; and on the 'suitability' of the jobs their clients wanted to do. The latter issue required several factors to be taken into account: the client's educational qualifications and 'ability' (as perceived by the CO), the availability of vacancies of the kind being sought, and other factors such as personality and physique which might have relevance to the particular occupation the leaver wanted to enter. Thus, as compared with the teacher's task, the CO's was much less straight forward and required the officer to exercise much more personal judgement.

The employer's opinion of the suitability of a job applicant, like the CO's, inevitably left much to personal judgement. Moreover, the personal consequences to an employer of recruiting someone who might prove unsuitable could tend to make him reluctant to accept anyone who possessed characteristics with which he might be unfamiliar, or about which he had a personal prejudice. Employers were also probably influenced by other considerations, such as their beliefs about the acceptability of West Indians to their other employees, or to their customers. Such factors probably contributed to a generalised bias in favour of Whites. These other reasons for employers being reluctant to accept West Indians, however, do not of themselves explain why the pattern of bias evident in the COs' assessments matches so well the equivalent bias displayed in the labour market. Why, for instance, Early Migrants tended to be more acceptable; and why, when job applicants were ill-qualified for the occupations they wished to enter, Whites were especially favoured. The most likely explanation is clearly that employers tended to judge the job suitability of West Indians in a similar way to the COs. This raises the question of whether COs may also have been influenced in their judgement of job suitability by an awareness, for instance, that West Indians needed to be very adequately qualified if they were to stand a reasonable chance of getting the jobs they wanted. Considerations of this kind may well have played a subsidiary role. However, the strong correlation between the COs' assessments of job suitability and their ratings of their clients' oral abilities and general intelligence clearly implies that it was the COs' *own* propensity to underestimate the abilities of West Indians that was the major factor in their tendency to under-rate West Indian job suitability.

We must, therefore, finally conclude that although they were also undoubtedly influenced by other considerations, the employers' unwillingness to accept West Indians was partly because, when assessing the suitability of job applicants, employers displayed the same types of ethnocentric bias as did Careers Officers.

Leavers' opinions about the incidence of discriminatory recruiting practices

Thus far, our conclusions about the incidence of discrimination amongst employers have been based solely on a comparison of the relative fortunes of matched White and West Indian school leavers, when they applied for jobs. However, we also asked the leavers how often *they* thought young West Indians were turned down for jobs because employers were prejudiced against West Indians, and whether they thought this

had ever happened to them. (For fuller information about the wording of the questions and how they were developed, the reader should see Appendix IV, and questions 48–50 in the *School Leavers' Questionnaire*, Appendix V.)

We found that West Indians seldom mentioned discrimination amongst the reasons for their having difficulty getting jobs, unless asked directly if they thought this was so. In addition to their reticence over bringing such matters to the fore, the answers they gave, especially in relation to the general prevalence of discriminatory recruiting practices, tended to be affected by the ethnicity of the person who interviewed them. But when allowance is made for this interviewer bias, we find that after prompting our informants' opinions were usually very close to our own conclusions. In view of the inherent difficulty for a job applicant to know if an employer is prejudiced, some divergence was to be expected. Moreover, where our conclusions and the leavers' opinions do diverge there are generally good reasons why this should be so. The divergences are also of interest in themselves, in that they help to show how West Indians reacted to discriminatory recruiting practices.

Table 12.1 sub-divides our informants' answers by area, education and length of unemployment. The answers from boys and girls have not been shown separately because their responses showed only negligible differences, which again accords with our earlier findings that the abilities of both sexes were invariably assessed with a similar degree of ethnocentric bias (see Chapter 3).

In keeping with our previous conclusions, Table 12.1 shows that less qualified Early Migrants, and those who lived in Birmingham, were much more likely to suspect they may have been turned down for jobs because of being West Indian. Early Migrants in Birmingham were also much less prone to regard discrimination as being a relatively rare occurrence. The longer they had been unemployed the more likely people were to feel that discriminatory recruitment practices had contributed to their difficulties.

Personal experience of discrimination amongst Later Migrants was also more frequent in Birmingham. However, despite their longer periods of enemployment, greater difficulty getting the type of work they wanted, and the particularly low standard of the jobs they eventually secured, Later Migrants did *not* seem to think they had encountered more discrimination than had Early Migrants: the proportions in each group who believed they may have been turned down for jobs for this reason being very similar, in both London and Birmingham. The table also suggests that in Birmingham, Later Migrants were much more likely, than Early Migrants, to believe that West Indians seldom encountered this problem. This last finding is deceptive, however, as the divergence between the views of the two groups was found to be due entirely to the influence of the ethnicity of their interviewers. When the question was posed by West Indian interviewers only a slightly higher proportion of leavers said they believed they may have been turned down for a job because of being West Indians. But when the leavers who did not think they had been personally affected

Table 12.1 Leavers' beliefs about the incidence of discriminatory recruiting practices by area, educational level and length of unemployment

Unemployment	All		Area				Educational level (Early Migrants only)		
			London		Birmingham				
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Low	Medium	High
Thought he/she had been turned down for a job because of discrimination at least once	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Definitely	28} 38	27} 35	21} 28	23} 31	32} 44	33} 41	29} 41	32} 42	19} 26
Possibly	10	8	7	8	12	8	12	10	7
Not personally turned down for a job because of discrimination . . .									
. . . but thought him/herself lucky to avoid it	27	22	30	25	25	18	27	22	34
. . . and thought West Indians rarely meet this problem	23	31	30	30	18	33	25	22	23
Don't know/Other answers	12	12	12	15	12	9	8	14	17
Base (all leavers)	*373*	*142*	*142*	*75*	*231*	*67*	*151*	*139*	*83*

were then asked about how often they thought West Indians met this problem there was a considerable variance in their answers, depending on who asked them the question. If the interviewer was white, the Later Migrants were much more likely to say that West Indians rarely encountered discrimination. Early Migrants also displayed the same tendency, but to a much lesser degree. When the answers given by Early and Later Migrants in the West Indian interviewers' quota were compared it was found that the opinions of both groups of leavers were in fact very similar, both in relation to the general incidence of discrimination and to the frequency with which they thought they had been personally affected (see Appendix IV, Table IV.2). This explains the seemingly aberrant views of Later Migrants about the general prevalence of discrimination. It also confirms, however, that even when they were questioned by a fellow West Indian, Later Migrants do not appear to have believed themselves to have been the victims of discriminatory recruitment practices any more frequently than Early Migrants. As all the other evidence points very strongly to Later Migrants having been much more affected, one can only conclude that they were perhaps more naive than the Early Migrants whose greater experience of life in Britain may well have made them shrewder judges in matters of this kind. As job applicants are unlikely to be told directly that they are not wanted because of being West Indian the only evidence they usually have is circumstantial, or through innuendoes of a type that a more recent immigrant may be less quick to recognise.

People were also asked whether they thought COs gave West Indians sufficient help to overcome discrimination by employers. Once again we found that their answers were affected by interviewer bias, informants who had West Indian interviewers being more likely to say that COs could have been more helpful (see Appendix IV, Table IV.3). This question was put only to people who believed that they themselves had been affected by discrimination when applying for jobs and who were therefore able to base their answers on their own experiences. When those who were dissatisfied with the COs' endeavours were asked what further assistance the COs could have given, however, most suggestions related simply to the general quality of the services afforded by Careers Officers. One person in four also said that COs should not send West Indians to employers who were likely to discriminate. Only *seven* leavers suggested that COs should investigate why employers rejected West Indian job applicants, or that they should report employers whom they suspected of discriminating.

Unemployment (Early Migrants only)				
None	4 Weeks	4–8 Weeks	8–12 Weeks	Over 12 Weeks
%	%	%	%	%
18 7 } 25	20 11 } 31	23 9 } 32	47 11 } 58	51 17 } 68
34	30	25	20	14
29	22	28	11	12
12	17	15	11	7
139	*54*	*75*	*46*	*59*

How leavers reacted to discriminatory recruiting practices

As we noted earlier, regardless of whether their interviewers were white or West Indian, our informants very seldom gave discrimination as a reason for failing to get jobs, unless they were asked directly if they thought this was so. We have found that their suspicions, after prompting, were fully justified by our other evidence. Later Migrants, in particular, seem often in fact to have underestimated the extent to which the biased attitudes of employers were responsible for the difficulties they had experienced. It was especially in borderline cases, when people were ill-qualified for the occupations they were seeking to enter, that West Indians were most likely to be unconscious of the degree to which employers favoured white applicants. The particularly wide disparity in the success rates of Whites and West Indians when they were in this situation (see Tables 7.5 and 7.6) leaves little doubt that employers were more likely to accept a white applicant in these circumstances. However, Table 12.2 shows that West Indians who were inadequately qualified for the jobs they were trying to get tended, in fact, to be slightly *less* prone to think that the employers to whom they had applied had shown any ethnic bias. As we have already remarked, it is often very difficult for someone to assess whether an employer is prejudiced; it is all the more so when the applicant knows, or is told, that his or her qualifications are below the standard generally expected. This is the circumstance in which, therefore, one would expect West Indians to be most unsure of whether the employer had been biased. Table 12.2 suggests that when this occurred the unsuccessful West Indian applicants tended to give employers the benefit of the doubt.

In several ways, the West Indian leavers' experiences were a vindication of the outlook of their parents. The stress which West Indian parents placed on the need for their children to get vocational qualifications – but with a preference for them to stay on at school to obtain a sound education, rather than leaving early to obtain an

Table 12.2 Leavers' beliefs about the incidence of discriminatory recruiting practices by whether qualified for desired job

	Qualified		Under-qualified	
	Early Migrants	Later Migrants	Early Migrants	Later Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Thought he/she had been turned down for a job because of discrimination at least once				
Definitely	32 } 40	30 } 38	26 } 36	26 } 34
Possibly	8	8	10	8
Not personally turned down for a job because of discrimination . . .				
. . . but thought him/herself lucky to avoid it	25 } 46	17 } 51	27 } 52	26 } 54
. . . and thought West Indians rarely meet this problem	21	34	25	28
Did not know/ other answers	13	10	12	12
Base (all West Indians with a desired job)	*164*	*59*	*200*	*80*

apprenticeship – has been shown to be amply justified. Their tendency, nevertheless, to doubt that getting a good job was mainly determined by a person's qualifications and ability was also, unfortunately, frequently borne out. This sceptical view of the labour market derived no doubt from the parents' own experiences. In the next volume of the report we shall observe how far their children came eventually to share their parents' pessimism (see Volume 2, Chapter 8).

Appendix I How the samples were composed

It was explained in the Introduction that to meet the wishes of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) the original survey design was modified to minimise the administrative burden on schools. Inner London schools are asked very frequently to participate in research projects and we were to find later, when making our initial approaches to head teachers, that several were already committed to, or were being asked to take part in, other studies contemporaneous with our own. The ILEA was anxious therefore that we should draw our samples of leavers from the least number of schools possible and were also unable to agree to any sampling design that required all schools to be involved in furnishing data to provide us with a comprehensive sampling frame. Our original intention was to ask all schools in Greater London and Birmingham to complete a form giving details of the ethnic composition of all fourth, fifth and sixth year classes, from which we could identify those containing West Indian pupils who were likely to be leaving to start paid employment at the end of the next Easter or Summer term. The information furnished thereby was to provide a sampling frame from which a randomised sample of classes could be drawn, giving representative samples of UK-born leavers of West Indian parentage, and of leavers born in the West Indies. As a result of our discussions with ILEA it was agreed to change the prime target group to all leavers of West Indian parentage who had been educated in Britain from the age of 5 years (instead of restricting it to the UK-born) and to confine the sample of school classes to those containing one or more such pupils. The school classes so selected would also be used to furnish the required samples of West Indians who came to Britain at a later age, as well as being the source of white leavers to be used for matching purposes. The effects of these modifications to the original sampling design on the representativeness of our findings and on the manner in which the data had to be analysed were discussed earlier (see Chapter 1). It is sufficient to note here that the purpose of these changes was to reduce the number of schools to be included in the survey. However, as we did not know in which schools these classes would be located and we were debarred from writing to all schools to find out, it was necessary to adopt an initial screening process, to select out the schools that were most likely to contain the target population. Calculations based on earlier pilot work showed that schools reported by the Department of Education to contain 25 West Indian pupils aged 14 years or over in January of the previous year* seldom had more than one pupil per school in the prime target group, that is, those who had been educated in Britain from the age of 5 years *and* who were intending to leave school to start work in the sample year. By omitting such schools from the sampling frame we would therefore exclude only a very small proportion of eligible leavers, and also ensure that most of the schools that were included would have at least one such pupil. It was estimated initially that the number of West Indian leavers wholly educated in Britain contained within the eligible schools would exceed our requirements, and therefore at first only 75 of the 92 Greater London schools with the requisite minimum number of West Indian pupils aged 14 or over were approached and asked to provide details of the ethnic composition of their relevant classes (see Schools Return, Appendix V). However, low rates of co-operation – especially from Inner London schools – eventually led us to approach all 92 schools, in order to secure a sufficient number of eligible leavers.

* On the basis of data furnished on DES Form 7(i).

In Birmingham, all schools were approached, regardless of the number of West Indian leavers they were said to contain, because no objections were raised by the Birmingham education authorities and it was important, because of the smaller school population, that we should not miss out any of the eligible leavers. In the event, the number of eligible leavers found in Birmingham was still insufficient for our requirements and as explained earlier we had to collect a further sample the following year. Despite the double work load thereby imposed on the Birmingham school staffs nearly all the schools co-operated. As we had already obtained the necessary minimum number of London leavers for our purposes it was not essential to obtain a second year sample in the Greater London area, although it would have made the analysis easier had we been able to do so. The difficulties experienced in collecting the necessary data from London schools, however, showed that it would be unreasonable to have asked for their assistance a second year running.

Table I.1 gives full details of the response by schools, according to area and sample year. The table shows that there was a very marked difference in levels of co-operation as between Inner London and elsewhere. Whereas 28 out of the 61 ILEA schools (46%) were unable to take part, the equivalent refusal rates in Outer London and in Birmingham were 23% and 2%, respectively. In the second year, all the Birmingham schools that were approached gave us their full co-operation. A handful of schools in all three areas subse-

Table I.1 Summary of schools' response by area and sample year

	1st Year				2nd Year
	Inner London	Outer London	Birmingham	All 1st Year	Birmingham
Total of schools asked to participate in the survey	61	31	95	187	95
Not selected for inclusion in follow-up sample because found not to have *any* West Indian leavers wholly educated in the United Kingdom	6	7	50	63	37
Declined to take part in the survey	28	7	2	37	—
Subsequently withdrew because of administrative difficulties etc.	1	1	1	3	—
Birmingham schools not approached in 2nd year because of refusal or administrative difficulty in 1st year	..	..	..	..	5
Schools finally selected for inclusion in follow-up sample	**26**	**16**	**42**	**84**	**53**

quently withdrew after initially agreeing to be included in the survey, because of administrative difficulties due to staff changes, etc.

The main disadvantage of the disappointingly small proportion of London schools agreeing to co-operate was that it made the samples of leavers smaller than we would have wished. It also caused the samples to be less geographically representative, but this was automatically controlled for in the matching procedure as the Early and Later Migrants, and the Whites to whom the former were matched, all came from the same schools.

The forms on which details of the ethnic composition of all fourth, fifth and sixth year classes had to be entered together with an estimate of the number of White and West Indian pupils expected to leave each class to start paid employment at the end of the following Easter and Summer terms, were despatched to schools in the Autumn term of 1970. In the following (Easter 1971) term, all schools with classes containing West Indian pupils wholly educated in Britain who were expected to leave school the following year were sent questionnaires, one of which had to be completed for *every* West Indian and indigenous White pupil leaving these classes in that term (see Teacher's Questionnaire, Appendix V). At the beginning of the next (Summer) term each school was sent a list of the pupils for whom completed questionnaires had been received, with a request to the school secretary to confirm that none of these pupils had subsequently returned to school, and that all leavers had been accounted for. At the same time, if the section of the questionnaire relating to educational qualifications showed that a pupil was intending to sit an examination (or had sat one for which the result was still unknown when the form was completed) the relevant section of the questionnaire was returned to the school for the exam result to be recorded. This occurred relatively rarely with Easter leavers, but happened very frequently with leavers in the following Summer term (when the whole procedure was repeated) as the results of examinations sat at the end of the Summer term were generally not known until after the children had left school.

Although the survey was concerned only with leavers intending to enter paid employment, we asked for questionnaires to be completed in respect to *all* leavers, regardless of what they intended doing when they left. When the pupil was said not to be starting work the teacher was asked to state what the child intended doing. If there was any doubt as to the leaver's intentions, the child was retained in the follow-up sample so that we could check at the first home interview whether the leaver had in fact decided to look for a job.

This procedure, although seemingly cumbersome, was developed as a result of our earlier pilot experience. It had been found that although it would have been simpler, it was unwise to leave the completion of the Teacher's Questionnaire until the commencement of the term following a child's departure from school. As a result of staff changes (especially common after the Summer term) the teacher(s) who knew the child best might also have left the school to take up other appointments, so that there was no-one remaining on the staff who was competent to complete the personality assessment and other similar sections of the questionnaire that required close personal acquaintance with the child. At the beginning of a new term teachers are also often very busy and questionnaires were likely to be set aside and not returned to us until very late, with consequential disruption to the interviewing time-table. If the questionnaires had to be completed by the end of the term that the children actually left school this set a useful 'deadline' by which the work had to be finished. The completion of exam results and the checks to confirm that the correct number of questionnaires had been sent in, which were carried out at the commencement of the following term, could be done by a school secretary from centralised records and busy teaching staff did not have to be involved. Getting the teacher to complete the questionnaire toward the end of the leaver's final term also had the advantage that the ques-

tion about 'academic potential' was answered before the teacher was aware of how well the child had fared in his or her final examinations – making it a better indicator of the teacher's *personal* assessment of the child's ability (see Chapter 2).

When all the Teachers' Questionnaires for each term's batch of leavers had been checked and the remaining examination results entered, those relating to leavers who were reported as definitely not intending to enter paid employment were set aside. West Indian leavers in Categories 1 and 2 were then matched to corresponding white leavers. As there were a large number (2,284) of white leavers from which to select the most suitable matches for the Category 1 and 2 West Indian leavers (on the basis of age, sex, location and educational level), the initial selection process was computerised. The resulting machine matches were then examined by hand to confirm their suitability, taking into account other factors such as whether either of the matched leavers had a physical disability. In many instances the computer programme produced several possible alternative matches and these had to be examined by hand to determine which was the best. For fuller details of the criteria used for this purpose the reader should refer to our earlier discussion in the chapter on methodology (see Chapter 2).

Table I.2 shows how our eventual follow-up samples of 520 West Indians and 373 Whites were arrived at, from the 774 West Indian and 2,503 white leavers of whom we were notified by schools. It should be noted that the percentages of West Indians who were ineligible for inclusion in the follow-up sample because of their intention to enter full-time FE or the Armed Forces etc, are not on the same basis as the equivalent percentages of Whites.

All the West Indian leavers reported by teachers as intending to enter employment, plus a few whose intentions were uncertain, were included in our interview sample. One in eight of these, however, were subsequently found to be ineligible for one of the reasons listed in the table. The most common reason being that, unbeknown to their teachers, they had gone on to take courses of full-time further education. Only a quarter of the White leavers reported to be entering employment were selected as suitable matches and included in the interview sample. As with the West Indians, we found subsequently that a proportion of the latter were ineligible, for similar reasons. Had *all* the Whites said by teachers to be leaving school to start work been followed-up we would obviously have found many more who had in fact entered courses of full-time further education or joined the Armed Forces. This, of course, would have increased the proportions shown under these headings in Table I.3. However, as the sample of Whites for interview was selected so as to accord with the age, sex, location and educational distributions of the West Indian Category 1 and 2 leavers,

Table I.2 How samples were arrived at (Years 1 and 2 samples combined)

(a) The West Indians

	Number	%
Total leavers from the selected classes notified by schools	**774**	**100**
Of whom the following† were ineligible for inclusion in the sample as they:		
Had started, or were about to start, courses of full-time further education		16
Had joined the Armed Forces		2
Had left the United Kingdom		1
Were *not* seeking full-time paid employment, nor entering full-time further education, for personal or domestic reasons		1
Total eligible leavers included in sample	**616**	
Of whom:		
Unable to contact (mainly because of address changes)		10
Refused to co-operate on survey		2
* Interviewed but dropped subsequently from sample because no suitable white matches could be found		1
Total eligible leavers who were interviewed and included in sample, matched to white leavers where appropriate	**520**	**67**

(b) The Whites

	Number	%
Total leavers from the selected classes notified by schools	**2,503**	**100**
Of whom the following were unsuitable for matching to West Indian leavers as they:		
Had started, or were about to start, courses of full-time further education		8
Had joined the Armed Forces		0
Were not seeking full-time paid employment, nor entering full-time further education, for personal or domestic reasons		0
Total leavers suitable for matching purposes selected for matching	**2,284**	70
Total leavers selected for matching to West Indians (including a number of substitutes issued to replace original matches that were lost because of refusal or non-contact)	**534**	
Of whom:		
Unable to contact (mainly because of address changes)		1
Refused to co-operate on survey		1
§ Interviewed but not used for matching purposes, as the West Indians to whom they were originally matched were refusals or non-contacts, etc		4
Total eligible leavers interviewed and included in sample matched to West Indians	**373**	**15**

† *Includes both those who were reported by teachers to be ineligible, for the reasons given, plus others found subsequently to have entered full-time further education, at the first home interview. See text for commentary on the comparison of figures for West Indians and Whites.*

* *These all arose from the Easter leavers samples. Relatively few pupils left at Easter and consequently the range of white leavers available for matching purposes was limited.*

§ *Most of these were retained in a reserve group for continued interview follow-up, for use as possible substitutes to replace white leavers lost at later stages of the survey. They have not been included, of course, in the analysis of first interviews. See Chapter 1.*

they are not a representative cross-section of all the white leavers. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that all the white leavers will have behaved similarly to those who were selected for interview. Bearing this important proviso in mind, it is nevertheless of some interest to note that if it is assumed that the proportion of unselected Whites who would have been found to have entered full-time further education (unbeknown to their teachers) was the same as for the interview sample, then we calculate that the total proportion of Whites entering full-time courses of further education would be approximately 13%, as compared to 16% of West Indians.

As the proportions of Whites and West Indians included in the interview sample varied considerably, it also follows that the proportions of non-contacts and refusals shown in Table I.2 are not really comparable. The purpose of these tables is only to show how the follow-up samples were recruited. For details of actual response rates in the interview samples the reader should see Appendix II.

A number of the Whites who were originally selected for interview as matches for Category 1 and 2 West Indians had to be replaced, as they were found to have entered full-time further education or the Armed Forces, had refused to co-operate on the survey, or could not be contacted. A further proportion were interviewed to no avail, because the West Indians to whom they had originally been matched were in their turn found to be ineligible, declined to co-operate, or were non-contacts. As was explained in the Introduction, most of these surplus Whites were retained as a source of replacements for future losses from the White sample, and were therefore included in the interview sample at all subsequent stages. An explanation of the way in which these 'reserve' Whites were later used will be found in the next volume of the report (see Volume 2, Chapter 2).

For details of how the 616 West Indians in the set sample for the first interview (Table I.2) were sub-divided, as between Early and Later Migrants, see Table II.1 in Appendix II.

Appendix II Response rates at the first interview

In Appendix I it was shown how the interview samples of 616 West Indians and 534 White leavers were recruited from schools. The next two tables give response rates for each Sample Year and show how levels of co-operation were affected by the ethnicity of the interviewer. The tables exclude leavers found to have entered full-time further education or to have joined the Armed Forces (see Appendix I, Tables I.2 and I.3).

Table II.1 shows that response rates were a little higher in the second year (Birmingham) sample, but that in both years interviewers were slightly more successful in obtaining interviews from Whites. There were two reasons for the lower response from West Indians: difficulty in tracing them because of frequent address changes, and the inexperience of the West Indian interviewers who were allocated a half of the West Indian leavers' sample. There was no evidence of a greater reluctance to co-operate on the survey on the part of West Indian leavers. All the leavers had low refusal rates, but West Indians were especially co-operative: the proportions in the combined samples who declined to take part in the study being 6% and 3% for Whites and West Indians, respectively. The high level of co-operation received from West Indian leavers is even more apparent in Table II.2 which compares the results achieved by the two types of *interviewer*. The table shows that in the white interviewers' quota only 2% of West Indian leavers refused to be interviewed in the Year 1 Sample, and a mere 1% in the second year. White interviewers, like their West Indian counterparts, however, had some difficulty making contact with West Indian leavers.

The main reason for the relatively high non-contact rate in the West Indian leavers' sample was that they tended to change their addresses much more frequently than did Whites. A check carried out later, at the end of the fieldwork for the second home interview, showed that whereas 21% of white leavers had changed address in the two years that had elapsed since they left school, the removal rate amongst West Indians had reached 42% – and this *excluded* several nurses in the West Indian sample who were by then resident in Nurses Homes.

If the figures for the white interviewers' quota of West Indian leavers in Table II.2 are compared with the results for the white leavers' sample in Table II.1 it will also be seen that the proportion of interviews achieved by the white interviewers was almost identical for both types of leaver, although fewer refusals and more non-contacts were encountered amongst West Indian leavers. Hence, the overall difference between the proportions successfully interviewed in the West Indian and white leavers' samples (as shown in Table II.1) is entirely attributable to the poorer response rate in the quota of leavers allocated to the West Indian interviewers.

Lack of experience was undoubtedly the main reason the West Indian interviewers were less successful. Although they had been trained by our Field Branch, none had done this kind of work previously; whereas most of our white interviewers were very experienced. The divergence in the success rates of the two groups of interviewers was initially so marked that we felt it

Table II.1 Response at first interview stage by sample year

	Year 1				Year 2				Both sample years combined			
	Whites		West Indians		Whites		West Indians		Whites		West Indians	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Eligible set sample for 1st interview	*376*	100	*444*	100	*158*	100	*172*	100	*534*	100	*616*	100
Non-contacts	*19*	5	*56*	13	*4*	2	*19*	11	*23*	4	*75*	12
Refusals	*23*	6	*13*	3	*9*	6	*4*	2	*32*	6	*17*	3
Interviewed	*334*	89	*375*	84	*145*	91	*149*	87	*479*	90	*524*	85
Withdrawn (unmatchable)*	*16*		*4*		—		—		*16*		*4*	
Placed in reserves*	*60*		—		*30*		*5*		*90*		*5*	
Included in matched pairs sample for 1st interview analysis	*258*		*258*		*115*		*115*		*373*		*373*	
Later Migrants sample			*113*				*29*				*142*	

* *See footnotes to Tables I.2 in Appendix I.*

Table II.2 Response at first interview stage by ethnicity of interviewer (West Indian leavers only)

	Year 1			Year 2	
	West Indian interviewers' quota		White interviewers' quota	West Indian interviewers' quota	White interviewers' quota
	Before recall†	After recall†			
	%	%	%	%	%
Non-contacts	20	17	8	14	8
Refusals	8	4	2	4	1
Interviewed	72	79	90	82	91
Eligible set sample (100%)	*211*		*233*	*85*	*87*

† *Some of the non-contacts and refusals returned by West Indian interviewers were subsequently re-issued to more experienced interviewers (see commentary).*

necessary to reissue a proportion of the West Indian interviewers' sample that had been returned as refusals or non-contacts, for further follow-up by our more experienced staff interviewers. This was only done when the notes sent in by the West Indian interviewer suggested that there was a reasonable chance that a further attempt by an experienced interviewer might be successful. As a result of these further endeavours, the proportion successfully interviewed was raised from 72% to 79%, as compared to 90% in the White interviewers' quota. In the second year's sample there was less difference in response rates in the two quotas: the white interviewers obtained almost identical results to the previous year, but the proportion of leavers with whom West Indian interviewers achieved interviews rose from 72% to 82%. In the second year, therefore, no further follow-up of the West Indian interviewers' non-contacts and refusals was attempted. Thereafter (at subsequent stages of fieldwork) as the West Indian interviewers gained more experience their performance continued to improve, although throughout the five years of the survey they consistently encountered more refusals than did white interviewers (see Volume 2, Appendix II).

Appendix III The construction of composite variables and the use of indices

A variety of derived variables, collapsed versions of standard systems of occupational classification and indices have been used throughout this report. A brief note has been given in the main body of the text, where such an item is first introduced, if its manner of construction is not self evident. More detailed or technical explanations, when necessary, have been reserved for this appendix and cross-referenced to where the item is first featured.

Personality (see Chapter 3)
The following five semantic differential scales were used for the assessment of the school leaver's personality traits by the teachers (see the Teacher's Questionnaire, Part D, Appendix V). The instructions to the teacher read: *"Five scales are given below, each relating to an aspect of behaviour. Please indicate your rating of this pupil by putting a TICK in* one *of the boxes in each scale. Treat the middle boxes as representing the average for all boys/girls of this age".*

Seems mature for his/her age								Seems immature for his/her age
Outward going and talkative								Introspective and quiet
Independent/thinks for him/herself								Dependent on others in forming his/her opinions
Excitable and impulsive								Calm and cautious
Co-operative and obliging toward teachers								Unco-operative and obstructive toward teachers

The scales were chosen from an inventory of seventeen which were originally used by Thomas and Wetherall[1], for a similar purpose. These particular ones were selected because they had the highest factor loadings for the three underlying personality dimensions (factors) identified in the analysis of the original inventory. See Table III.1, in which we have boxed the five selected scale items, together with their respective loadings on the relevant factor. It will be seen from the table that for the measurement of 'Social maturity' and 'Extroversion' two scales were taken which have had subsequently to be combined. As the factor loadings of each pair of scales were very similar in each instance they were given equal weight.

The original scales could each have a score of 1 to 7. For ease of analysis these scores were further collapsed to produce 'high', 'medium' and 'low' ratings, as follows:

For **Co-operativeness**	**Score on original scale**
Highly co-operative	1, 2 or 3
Co-operative	4
Unco-operative	5, 6 or 7

For **Social maturity and Extroversion**	**Combined scores on (two) original scales**
Highly mature/extrovert	2 to 6
Mature/neutral	7 to 9
Immature/introvert	10 to 14

Attitudinal indices (see Chapters 4 and 9)
Throughout the report we have employed several attitudinal indices derived from items in the leaver's self-completion questionnaire, and from items relating to the parents' attitudes to vocational training and to work. The example given below, which shows how the index of 'Satisfaction with personal treatment by supervisors' was constructed (from answers given in the leaver's self-completion questionnaire) illustrates the general principles followed in the compilation of all such indices.

'Satisfaction with personal treatment by supervisors' index
First, the answers to each constituent attitude statement were given numerical values which took account of whether the original items were positive or negative – thereby converting all answers onto a positive scale. In a very small number of instances where there was no answer given to a constituent item, a value of '2' was imputed.

Items in self-completion questionnaire used in construction of the index	Original column headings		
	True	Partly true	Not true
The people who mostly tell me what to do and are in charge at work			
Are strict	3	2	1
Treat me fairly	1	2	3
Praise me when I do something well	1	2	3
Watch closely what I do	3	2	1
Are willing to listen to my ideas and opinions	1	2	3
Nag at me about things	3	2	1
Usually do what they promise	1	2	3
Often speak to me in a rude or unfriendly way	3	2	1
Expect too much from a beginner	3	2	1
Are always willing to give me help or advice	1	2	3

Table III.1 Factor loadings of seventeen behavioural rating scales*

Scale titles	Factor I (Co-operativeness)	Factor II (Social maturity)	Factor III (Extraversion)
1. Self-confidence	−.069	.750	.460
2. Use of intelligence	.620	.222	−.118
3. Attitude of staff	.808	.331	−.122
4. Maturity	.224	.802	−.157
5. Attention seeking	−.280	.287	.785
6. Verbal expression	.215	.688	.251
7. Independence	.187	.837	.075
8. Tendency to worry	.476	−.134	−.193
9. Co-op to teachers	.890	.099	−.016
10. Leadership	.166	.705	.375
11. Reaction to criticism	.808	.073	−.036
12. Trustworthiness	.806	.129	−.066
13. Extroversion	−.022	.428	.794
14. Reliability	.800	.324	−.210
15. Behaviour to others	.824	.172	−.007
16. Sense of purpose	.574	.584	−.092
17. Excitability	−.194	−.115	.830

* *Reproduced from Thomas and Wetherall*[1].

For each individual in the sample, the scores on all ten items were summed, giving a combined score ranging from 10 to 30, which was then collapsed to give a 'high', 'medium' or 'low' rating, as follows:

Final rating	Summed values from all ten items
High	10 to 16
Medium	17 to 23
Low	24 to 30

Parents' attitudinal indices

Similar principles were also used in the construction of the following indices from the answers given by the parents:

Title of index	Items used in construction
Parents' assessment of the value of vocational training in general†	If a boy/girl* does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job when he/she is still young, he/she will regret it when he/she is older
	It's better for a boy/girl* to take a job where he/she will be well trained even if he/she does not earn very much to begin with
Parents' assessment of vocational training for girls†	(*Both the above items, plus . . .*)
	It's not worthwhile a girl going through a course of training as she is likely to get married and give up her job
	It's not as important for a girl as it is for a boy, to take a job where she will get a good training
Parents' reward for merit index§	Getting a good job depends on luck more than on anything else
	Getting a good job depends on knowing the right people, more than on how well qualified or skilled you are
	Getting promotion depends on whether the people in charge happen to like you, more than on whether you are good at your work.

* *The sex was adjusted to correspond to the sex of the informant's child included in the survey.*
† *See Question 10 in Parents' Questionnaire.*
§ *See Question 18 in Parents' Questionnaire.*

Occupational classification (see Chapter 5, *et seq*)

Comparisons of the jobs and occupational aspirations of our West Indian informants, with those of their white counterparts, has of course been one of the most basic tools we have used in our endeavour to assess the effects of ethnic differences on the experiences of school leavers. To do this we needed not only to make our methods as objective as possible, but also to devise forms of classification that would enable us to assess several aspects of these occupations. No one system could provide for all our purposes, and initially there were none which appeared suitable, in their existing form, for some of our needs. To cater for all our requirements we had to adapt some existing systems and to improvise others.

We needed to classify occupations in terms of:

(a) their educational requirements, for assessing the suitability of a person's job, or the 'realism' of his or her ambitions;

(b) their social status, as an aid to comparing the standard of jobs obtained by the matched groups;

(c) the general nature of the work involved, for purely descriptive purposes; to help in the assessment of changes in employment and ambitions over time; and for measuring the influence of family employment backgrounds.

Minimum educational requirements for entry into an occupation

To enable us to rate jobs in terms of their basic educational requirements, we had thought first to ask a randomly selected sample of Careers Officers to give us their personal ratings for all the occupations that were within the compass of our samples of leavers, based upon the list of occupations they had aspired to or actually obtained. Although a somewhat onerous task, it would have been feasible if the work had been distributed between a number of officers, using inter-locking

samples of occupations. However, the Birmingham Chief Careers Officer, Mr H Heginbotham, drew our attention to a suitable system already in use in the Birmingham Careers Service which he generously offered to allow us to utilise. After making further enquiries to confirm its suitability for use in relation to the London area, we accepted his offer.

The 'Heginbotham Scale' (or 'Heg Scale', which for convenience we have chosen to dub it, in the main body of the report) uses a manual[2] which is based upon the Department of Employment *Classification of Occupations and Directory of Occupational Titles* (CODOT). Each occupation listed in the manual is assigned a letter (or letters) signifying the level of skill or qualification it requires, as follows:

G = 'Graduate or professional'; H = 'Higher Technician'; T = 'Technician'; C = 'Craft'; X = 'Others'

For the purposes of this survey, we translated the letters into numerical values to facilitate computerising the data, and when two letters were given we took the *lower* level of qualifications. The full scale, showing our code values, the original lettering (in brackets) and the minimum educational requirements that each was said to require for *initial entry* into the occupation, is as follows:

The Heginbotham (Heg) Scale

Minimum educational qualifications required for entry to occupation	Letter	Code Number
Degree; HNC/HND; any completed or partly completed professional qualification, providing it is *above* GCE A level	G	1
One or more GCE A levels; ONC/OND	H	2
Four or more GCE O levels	T	3
Four or more CSE passes at grades 2 to 4; three GCE O levels; any suitable combination of CSE and GCE passes, such as one O level and 3 CSE passes at grades 2 to 4	C	4
Less than the above qualifications	X	5

Note *RSA was counted as equivalent to CSE*

CSE grade 1 pass was counted as equivalent to a pass at GCE 'O' level

In addition to assessing their ambitions and the jobs they actually obtained, we also rated the leavers' own qualifications, on the same scale; thereby enabling us to determine whether each person was adequately qualified for a particular occupation.

The Heg Scale is obviously a fairly crude instrument, in that it does not cater for variations between local labour markets, the varying standards expected by different employers, or for periodic fluctuations in the demand and supply of job applicants and vacancies which may well affect the level of qualifications which employers demand. We have found in practice, however, that it agreed to a high degree with the individual judgements of Careers Officers, in relation to white leavers, for jobs which require a fairly high level of qualification for entry. It is in respect to jobs at the lower end of the scale, and to the less well-qualified leaver, that divergences occur. This is as one should expect, in that the assessment of job applicants, both by Careers Officers and prospective employers, for occupations in which the initial general educational level of the employee is of lesser importance, naturally rests to a greater extent on subjective evaluations of the candidates' general aptitude for the job. This seeming deficiency in assessing 'suitability' through a standardised instrument such as the Heg Scale, however, can be turned to advantage. Thus, when examining the Careers Officers' assessments of the suitability of the leavers' aspirations, we can, through relating the person to the job in respect to features which can be rated objectively, observe how the subjective evaluation of the leavers' other qualities influenced the officers' judgement of the West Indians' job suitability, as compared with that of similarly qualified Whites.

A further advantage to using the Heg Scale is that in many instances we did not have the Careers Officer's assessment of the leaver's job or ambition because the child had made little use of the Careers Service or had never actually discussed the occupation with the officer; whereas, excepting for a very few cases where the job was insufficiently described, all occupations could be classified on the Heg Scale.

Occupational social status

Social status is generally measured, in OPCS surveys, by means of the OPCS classification of occupations into 'Social Classes'. These comprise five basic classes, two of which (the 'skilled' and 'partly-skilled' occupations) are usually sub-divided into 'manual' and 'non-manual', in the version used in OPCS surveys and which was adopted here at the initial coding stage. In this fuller form, it consists, therefore, of seven categories, as described below:

Social class		Examples of occupations
Number	Title	
I	Professional	–
II	Intermediate	Managers, nurses and teachers
III	Skilled manual	Electricians, mechanics and machine tool setters
	Skilled non-manual	Clerks, typists and shop assistants
IV	Partly skilled manual	Electrical assemblers and machine tool operators
	Partly skilled non-manual	Telephone operators and waiters/waitresses
V	Unskilled	Labourers, porters and messengers

This scale is, however, a rather unrefined measure of social status and has no empirical support. Moreover, the range of occupations held by our samples of leavers was relatively limited and heavily concentrated into a few categories. We decided, therefore, to adopt an alternative system which could make more subtle distinctions between the occupations at the bottom of the

hierarchy where the majority of our informants' jobs were clustered. Of the various alternatives available, the Hope–Goldthorpe Scale[3] appeared to be the most suitable, as its very extended scale of (124) values could be collapsed into intervals more appropriate to the range of our informants' occupations and because it also used the OPCS occupational units and was, therefore, compatible with other forms of classification we proposed to use for describing the nature of the leavers' jobs.

Hope and Goldthorpe state that their scale is a measure of the 'general desirability' or 'social standing' of the occupations of economically active *men*. We have applied it, however, to both male and female leavers. Thus, if there is a difference in the social status attached to a job – depending on the sex of its occupant – this will not be reflected in the scale and to this extent it is a less reliable indicator of the occupational status of our female leavers. However, this is unlikely to be a serious defect and in any case it is a deficiency shared by the alternative OPCS Social Class classification.

The intervals used for grouping the Hope–Goldthorpe Scale values are as follows:

The Hope–Goldthorpe Scale

Code value	Hope–Goldthorpe Scale range
1	60 or above
2	50–59
3	40–49
4	30–39
5	Below 30

Classification of the nature of the work
Another system of job classification frequently used in OPCS surveys is the OPCS Socio-Economic Grouping. The full classification consists of sixteen categories, but the range of occupations in which our samples were employed could be accommodated in just seven of them, as shown:

Socio-economic group

Title	Number
Managers (of small establishments)	2
Intermediate non-manual workers	5
Skilled manual workers	9
Junior non-manual workers	6
Semi-skilled manual workers	10
Personal Service Workers	7
Unskilled manual workers	11

Unlike the OPCS social classes which are arranged in an ordinal scale befitting their purpose, SEGs are not designed, necessarily, to reflect variations in social status. The SEG classification is a nominal scale which in its full version takes more account than does the Social Class classification, of differences in the nature of the work. It distinguishes, for example, between managers of small and large establishments, and also caters specifically for special groups such as those in agricultural occupations, the self-employed, personal service workers and the Armed Forces. Most of these additional categories, however, were superfluous to our needs, as is demonstrated by the small number of groups which sufficed to contain all the occupations in which the leavers were employed. Also, although the two forms of classification are differently derived, there is a considerable overlap between them which becomes even more pronounced in the truncated version of the SEG classification used in this report. Thus, for the range of occupations with which we are concerned here, the similarly named groups in the two classifications also have very similar compositions; it is mainly the occupations in the partly skilled non-manual social class which are allocated differently in the SEG system: between the junior non-manual and the personal service worker groups.

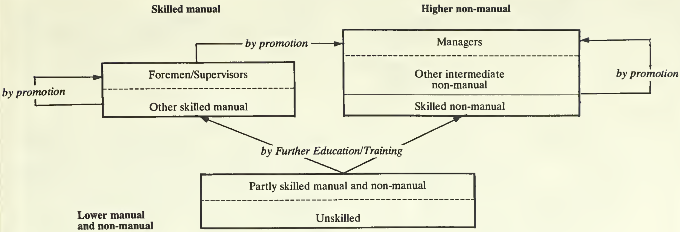
Neither classification provides a paticularly informative arrangement of occupations and their value to ourselves was further limited by a heavy concentration of the jobs of our samples in two or three of the categories. The main value of the SEGs is that they provide us with a fairly good general description of the type of work in which people were engaged; we have therefore chosen to use them when wishing to describe in detail the nature of our informants' employment. The social class classification, however, because it is also arranged in a form that enables all occupations to be classified by *skill level*, provided us with a basis for producing another simpler, and in many respects more useful, classification which we have described as 'occupational groups'. The rationale behind the formation of these groups is that they represent broad 'occupational paths' – in the sense that a person would probably find it difficult to move from one to another (except by satisfying certain conditions) once *firmly established* in his or her occupation – because each requires a different type or level of qualifications/experience.

The manner in which the social classes were combined to form these occupational groups is as follows:

Composition of occupational groups

Title	Social classes included	Examples of occupations
Higher non-manual	Intermediate and skilled non-manual	Managers, teachers, nurses and clerks
Skilled manual	Skilled manual	Mechanics, electricians and machine tool setters
Lower non-manual and manual	Partly skilled manual and non-manual, and unskilled	Electrical assemblers, telephone operators and porters.

It should be emphasised that although these occupational groups are derived from the social classes, the manner in which they have been re-combined blurs some of the status distinctions previously present between the classes. Thus, although the social status of the lower non-manual and manual group is below that of the other two, the main way in which the skilled manual and higher non-manual groups differ is that the latter has a higher status 'ceiling', that is a manual worker can only progress a limited way up the status hierarchy, *whilst still remaining a manual worker*. To rise any further he must move into the (non-manual)



managerial class, in the higher non-manual group. This may be diagrammatically represented as above.

Leavers entering the higher non-manual group at a junior level often do not require especially high qualifications, and except for specialised groups such as nurses, will frequently not be required to undertake any further education. Their subsequent advancement will depend on their performance and experience gained on the job. Older candidates for vacancies in such occupations will, however, normally be required to have had previous experience. Similarly for the skilled manual group, except that in this case formal training on the job, frequently associated with attendance on courses of further education, is the norm.

A degree of movement between all three groups occurs during the first few years after youngsters leave school, when some leavers have frequent changes of job and occupation (see Volume 2, Chapter 4). Subsequently, however, although employees in the top two groups may not originally have had educational qualifications any higher than some of the people who entered lower manual and non-manual occupations, the latter will be unlikely to gain entry to jobs in the higher non-manual and skilled manual groups, because of their lack of appropriate experience and training. Similarly, movement between the higher non-manual and skilled manual groups is unlikely later on (except on promotion from foreman/supervisor) because of the very different types of training and experience required in each. Later entry into these two groups can be gained, however, through further education and 'retraining' courses.

Despite these exceptions to the simplified view illustrated in the diagram, this method of putting occupations into (largely) mutually exclusive groups – and hence into broadly defined 'occupational paths' – has served as a useful analytical tool. It has proved to be an effective discriminator in relation to the characteristics of the jobs, and the qualities/experiences of people who had them. Also, as there are only three groups, between which our informants were well distributed, it has enabled us to undertake more detailed cross-tabulations than would otherwise have been possible, with our relatively small sample sizes.

The classification of occupations by industry
The final form of occupational classification we have used is by industry. Once again, because the OPCS classification was much too refined for our limited sample sizes, and many of the categories were not needed, we have used a condensed version. The manner in which the original categories in the full classification were combined is as follows:

Title of industrial group used in this report	Titles of component OPCS industrial categories
Manufacturing	Mining and Quarrying Food, Drink and Tobacco Coal and Petroleum Products Chemicals and Allied Industries Metal Manufacture Instrument Engineering Electrical Engineering Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering Vehicles Metal Goods (not elsewhere specified) Textiles Leather, Leather Goods and Fur Clothing, Footwear Bricks, Pottery, Glass, Cement, etc Timber and Furniture Paper, Printing and Publishing Mechanical Engineering Other Manufacturing Industries
Construction	Construction Gas, Electricity, Water
Service Industries	Transport and Communication Miscellaneous Services
Administration, Finance	Insurance, Banking and Business Services Public Administration and Defence
Professional and Scientific Services	Professional and Scientific Services
Distributive Trades	Distributive Trades

If job had desired characteristics (see Chapter 9)
The purpose of this composite item was to determine the extent to which the informant's present job had fulfilled the person's hopes, as expressed in the ranking of 'the things (he/she) would want to be happy in a job' (see Qn. 35 in School Leaver's Questionnaire, Appendix V). This was done on the basis of the leaver's own subjective assessment of the job, in the Self-Completion Questionnaire (see Appendix V), with respect to the three factors ranked by that informant as

being the most important. The items in the Self-Completion Questionnaire selected for this purpose, as being equivalent to the ranked items, were as follows:

Ranked item	Item in Self-Completion Questionnaire with which compared
Friendly people to work with	All the people I work with are very friendly
Work that you can be proud of	I am proud of the sort of work that I do
Learning a trade or getting a good training	I feel I am getting a really good training
A good chance of being promoted	Having this job will help me to get a better one later on in life
A steady job	My job is very safe and secure
Work that is interesting	The work I do is very interesting
Good pay	The pay is very good

Where the self-completion item was said by the informant to be 'true' the characteristic was recorded as 'achieved'. Likewise, when said to be 'partly true' or 'not true', it was registered as 'partly achieved', or as 'not achieved', respectively.

The data was then further summarised to show how far the current job 'possessed the three characteristics the informant most wanted'. This was carried out by attaching numerical scores to each of the three job characteristics ranked most highly, showing the extent to which each had been realised – weighted by their ranks in the order of preference, thus:

		Score
First stage	When characteristic was:	
	Fully achieved =	2
	Partly achieved =	1
	Not achieved =	0

		Weight
Second stage	When characteristic ranked:	
	1st in importance =	3
	2nd in importance =	2
	3rd in importance =	1

Thus, if the 1st preference was fully achieved it received a score of $2 \times 3 = 6$; if partly achieved, the score was $1 \times 3 = 3$. If a 2nd preference was fully achieved the score was $2 \times 2 = 4$. Any preference that was not achieved, whatever its ranking, would get a score of '0'. The maximum possible score was therefore 12 (ie first three preferences all 'fully achieved'). Minimum score was '0' (ie the top three job characteristics were all 'not achieved').

Third stage Scores were then summed for each individual and allocated as follows:

Desired characteristics were:	Weighted score	Examples
Completely or largely achieved	10 to 12	The first 2, or all 3 preferences, *fully* achieved
Only partly achieved	4 to 9	All 3 preferences partly achieved: 1st preference fully achieved but others not achieved
Largely or entirely unachieved	0 to 3	3rd preference fully achieved, but neither of the others even partly achieved: 2nd preference only partly achieved

References

1 Thomas, R and Wetherall, D. *Looking forward to work*. HMSO, 1974, page 93.

2 Heginbotham, H and Brooksbank, K. *Directory of occupations*. 1976.

3 Goldthorpe, JH and Hope, K. *The social grading of occupations: a new approach and scale*. Clarendon Press, 1974.

Appendix IV Ethnicity-of-interviewer effects

In the USA, research has shown that response on certain topics may be affected if the interviewer is of a different ethnicity to the respondent[1]. The latest findings available at the time this study was first mounted[2] suggested that a biased response was most likely to occur, as one might expect, with questions on 'racial' issues, but seldom if ever arose in relation to other subjects, or when the questions dealt only with 'factual' matters within the respondent's own personal experience. It was thought essential, therefore, to test whether similar differences were likely to occur under British conditions before embarking on our main fieldwork.

When the questionnaire for the initial interview had first been piloted there were very few spontaneous references to discrimination in response to the general questions about the reasons our informants had difficulty finding work. This might have been a genuine reflection of their views; but we needed to check that it was not the result of an ineffective mode of questioning, or caused by our informants being inhibited from expressing themselves frankly to white interviewers. To test both these possibilities we decided to conduct a second pilot, using the revised version of the interview schedule to which was added a series of questions asking *directly* about the informant's experience of discrimination when applying for jobs, and to allocate half the interviews to Whites from our permanent field staff and the other half to a specially recruited force of West Indian interviewers.

In the interview for the first pilot we had deliberately avoided asking informants directly if they thought they had met with discrimination when applying for jobs, because we feared it might prompt them to exaggerate. To guard against this, those who in the second pilot said in response to our prompting they thought they had experienced discrimination, were asked to describe an occasion when they thought it had occurred. This was so that an independent assessment of the reasonableness of their claims could be made. The check would obviously be very subjective, both in relation to our own judgement of what were 'reasonable' grounds for believing discrimination had taken place and because we had to rely on our informant's account of the event. It was not the intention, however, to attempt to make a quasi-legal examination of the evidence. The aim was only to find out what our informants thought and to check that their claims were based on something more than a vague and generalised suspicion. For these purposes, our proposed check, although rough, was the best we could make in the circumstances.

In the second pilot we took a sample of 73 leavers (plus their parents), 41 of whom were allocated to the West Indian interviewers' quota, and 32 to white interviewers'. The sample was relatively small because resources were limited, but if the response bias was large enough to be of importance in our prospective study, we considered the data even from such a relatively small experiment should be an adequate indicator of its presence, providing topics likely to be most sensitive were included in the interview schedule. It would not, of course, enable us to derive a reliable estimate of the magnitude of the bias, but this was unimportant, because even if the bias appeared to be relatively small it would be prudent, nevertheless, to design the main study on the assumption that some of our future questions might well produce larger differences.

The recruitment of the West Indian interviewers for this pilot exercise was designed also to serve as a test of the feasibility of obtaining a sufficient number for the main stage of the study. To this end, advertisements were inserted in ethnic and regional newspapers in Greater London and Birmingham, and in local newspapers covering the districts within these areas where significant numbers of West Indians were known to reside. Contrary to our normal practice, we asked only that people should be available for work in the evenings and at weekends, as these would generally be the only times when informants on this survey would be available for interview. By so doing, we were able to accept applications from people who already had another full-time job, and thereby greatly widen the range of people potentially suitable.

In response to the advertisements we received 131 firm applications from West Indians, of whom 31 subsequently passed our selection interview and clerical test. Although it was demonstrated that we could readily meet our requirements for interviewers at the main stage in London, only two (successful) applications were received from Birmingham.

Five of the successful applicants were given a four-day training and briefing course (extending over two weekends) and together with five of our staff interviewers, were put to work on the second pilot test in May–June 1971.

Somewhat to our surprise, the West Indian interviewers had rather more difficulty gaining the co-operation of informants (five refusals against two in the White interviewers' quota) and were less successful in

contacting elusive informants, or tracing those who had changed address. This could have been attributable partly to the West Indians' lack of experience, but the difference in the performance of the two sets of interviewers was larger than our extensive past experience with newly recruited interviewers would have led us to expect.

As in the first pilot, we found in both the West Indian and white interviewer quotas, that general questions about the reasons our informants had difficulty getting jobs very seldom produced a spontaneous mention of discrimination. This suggested that answers to this type of question were *not* influenced by the ethnicity of the interviewer, as we had at first suspected.

The direct questions about discrimination which had been added for the second test were of three types (see Questions 48–50 in the Leaver's Questionnaire, Appendix V) namely: where we enquired if the leaver had personal experience of discrimination when applying for jobs; where we asked for an opinion about the general frequency with which young West Indians encountered this problem; and where the leaver was asked whether the Careers Officers did enough to help West Indians when they encountered such difficulties. Similar questions were also asked of the parents.

The addition of these questions had the expected effect of eliciting more allegations of discrimination, but their frequency was very similar in both the white and the West Indian interviewers' quotas. But in relation to people's beliefs about the *general prevalence* of discriminatory recruiting practices, it was found that they were more likely to say that they thought such problems occurred only rarely, if the interview was conducted by a white person. Similarly, when interviewed by a White, they were also less likely to make critical comments about the help that Careers Officers gave with overcoming such difficulties. Similar variations occurred in the parents' interviews.

An examination of the examples which informants gave of when they had suspected that their applications for jobs were rejected by employers because of discrimination against West Indians, showed no indication that people were prone to make unjustified allegations. In most instances, in our judgement, the descriptions of the circumstances that had led informants to their conclusions fully justified their suspicions. Obviously, as we had only the leavers' account of what had happened, on which to form a judgement, it was by no means sufficient evidence to conclude that discrimination had taken place. But it sufficed to demonstrate that at least in our informants' view they generally had good reason to suspect that it had, and that therefore the more direct mode of questioning we adopted in the second pilot did not appear to have encouraged people to make ill-substantiated claims. This was further reinforced by our finding that the interviewers' ethnicity had relatively little influence on the frequency with which leavers reported such experiences. The latter finding, although it might seem surprising, was also in keeping with the conclusions of the Michigan study mentioned earlier[2].

The divergence in the answers about the general prevalence of discrimination demonstrated the importance of the distinction between data relating to events within the informant's personal experience and opinions based on hearsay evidence, where it seemed the ethnicity of the person asking the questions had a strong influence on the informant's response. The variations in the answers to the questions about the Careers Officers' behaviour, however, were puzzling. We had asked informants to base their opinions on their own experiences and we addressed the questions only to those who had said they had experienced discrimination. It would appear, therefore, in this instance that the reporting of personal experiences was influenced by the ethnicity of the interviewer. We shall discuss the possible reasons for this later, when we examine our findings from the main survey.

Thus, the test indicated that the ethnicity of the interviewer was likely to affect responses on very few topics, but that in some instances it could be important. We had also found that the response rates achieved by the West Indian interviewers were not as good as the Whites' and might adversely affect sample attrition in the main survey (see Volume 2 Appendix II). We decided, therefore, to employ West Indians to handle only half of the 616 West Indian interviews in the set sample for the first stage. By adopting this strategem we would be enabled to check the data on all sensitive topics, to determine if the ethnicity of the interviewer had an effect on the answers given by respondents; to minimise the adverse consequences of the West Indian interviewers' lower response rates; and to reduce the difficulties likely to be encountered in recruiting a sufficient number of West Indian interviewers in Birmingham.

As was explained earlier, at the first stage of the fieldwork the non-contact and refusal rates proved to be so high in the West Indian interviewers' quota that we had to ask our permanent field staff to make a second attempt with thirty cases where the circumstances suggested that it might be worthwhile making a further effort (see Appendix II). This produced a further sixteen interviews. As a consequence of their lower response rates and the transfer of some of their quota to white interviewers, the proportions of leavers actually interviewed by West Indians was much less than the proportion originally allocated them (see Table IV.1).

Table IV.1 Category of leaver by ethnicity of interviewer

Ethnicity of interviewer	Early Migrant leavers	Later Migrant leavers
White	*224*	*75*
West Indian	*149*	*67*
Total (all leavers interviewed)	*373*	*142*

We decided, as a result of this chastening experience, not to attempt an equal division of the sample in future interviews, but to allocate to West Indian interviewers only those informants whom they had previously interviewed; although as a result of their gaining more experience and of our retaining the services of only the more proficient, the West Indian interviewers' response rates were subsequently raised much closer to those of our permanent field staff (see Volume 2, Appendix II).

Main survey findings

As it was only in the answers to the additional questions inserted at the second pilot stage that the ethnicity of the interviewer was found to have a significant effect, and because it appeared that only by asking *directly* about discrimination could we get our informants to talk about it, these questions were retained for the main stage of the survey. In our analysis, however, we have examined all opinion and attitudinal questions for evidence of an ethnicity-of-interviewer effect. In addition to the items found to show differences in the pilot, we also found two others which we shall discuss presently. The general significance of the data which follows is discussed, in context, in the appropriate chapters of the report. Here we shall confine ourselves to commenting on the variations in response associated with the ethnicity of the interviewer.

Table IV.2 summarises the differences between the white and the West Indian interviewers' quotas, in their informants' responses to our direct questions about the experience of discrimination when applying for jobs. As noted at the foot of the table, the final results bear out our pilot findings, in that spontaneous references to discrimination were relatively rare and occurred with similar frequency in both interviewer quotas. Even when respondents were asked directly whether they thought discrimination had ever been the reason for their failing to get a job, the greater propensity to give an affirmative answer to a West Indian interviewer was relatively slight. Only when questioned about how often they thought young West Indians in general encountered discrimination when seeking work, do we find, as in the pilot, that notable differences occur, especially amongst Later Migrants.

When interviewed by West Indians, we find that in both groups of leavers, approximately a third of the respondents who said they had not themselves been affected by discrimination declared they thought it was a problem which was seldom encountered. Whereas, when the question was posed by a white interviewer, the proportion rose to a half amongst the Early Migrants, and to two thirds amongst the Later Migrants.

Similarly, in Table IV.3, as in the pilot, we find a pronounced difference in the frequency with which informants considered Careers Officers failed to do enough to assist West Indians to overcome discrimination amongst employers, depending on the ethnicity of the interviewer. Amongst the Later Migrants the proportion who criticised the performance of the Careers

Table IV.2 Effect of ethnicity of interviewer on leaver's opinions about occurrence of discrimination when seeking a job

	Early Migrants interviewed by:				Later Migrants interviewed by:			
	Whites	Total	West Indians	Total	Whites	Total	West Indians	Total
Thought he/she had been turned down for a job because of discrimination at least once:	%		%		%		%	
Definitely*	25	36	32	41	26	31	29	39
Possibly	11		9		5		10	
Did not know	4		3		7		6	
Not personally turned down for a job because of discrimination . . .								
. . . but thought him/herself lucky to avoid it	26		28		13		31	
. . . and thought West Indians rarely meet this problem	26	60	19	56	41	62	19	54
. . . and didn't know/other answer about general prevalence of discrimination	8		9		8		4	
Base (all West Indian leavers)	*224*		*149*		*75*		*67*	

* *Only 2%–3% of these answers were given spontaneously. All the others who thought they had experienced discrimination only said so after prompting – see Chapter 12. There was no ethnicity-of-interviewer effect on the proportions who mentioned discrimination spontaneously.*

Table IV.3 Effect of ethnicity of interviewer on leaver's opinions about help given by Careers Officers to overcome discrimination when seeking a job

	Early Migrants interviewed by:		Later Migrants interviewed by:	
	Whites	West Indians	Whites	West Indians
If leaver who had personally experienced discrimination when seeking work thought COs did enough to help overcome this problem:	%	%	%	%
No	12	19	11	22
Yes	15	14	12	10
Don't know or other answers	9	8	7	7
Had never personally experienced discrimination when seeking work (or did not know)	64	59	69	60
Base (all West Indian leavers)	*224*	*149*	*75*	*67*

Officers rose from 11% (with white interviewers) to 22% when the interviews were conducted by West Indians; and from 12% to 19%, amongst the Early Migrants.

The responses of their parents displayed similar ethnicity-of-interviewer effects in relation to all three of the items discussed above.

We noted earlier that the much greater variation in response occurring in the question about the general prevalence of discrimination, compared to that found when asking about the informant's personal experiences, is consistent with the Michigan findings. However, the differences in the proportions who criticised the Careers Officers' endeavours to assist West Indians who encountered this problem requires a different explanation. The most likely reason is that an informant might be reluctant to imply a lack of concern by a 'government' official for the interests of West Indians, to a White interviewer who also came from a government department. Indeed, there is reason to suppose that informants were not always sure whether our interviewers were connected with the Careers Service. Our field staff were instructed to make very clear to each respondent that our organisation is not in any way associated with the Careers Service, but some informants undoubtedly remained a little unsure, as evidenced by the occasional requests made to our interviewers for guidance and help over getting jobs. One can only conjecture that the difference in response when the interview was conducted by a West Indian arose because, as the great majority of Careers Officers are Whites, the informant was less likely to associate the interviewer with the Careers Service.

The final two items which were found to produce different responses, depending on the ethnicity of the interviewer, both came from the parents' interviews (see Tables IV.4 and IV.5). In both instances we have illustrated the variations as found in the Early Migrants' parents samples only, as the results from both groups of parents were similar.

Table IV.4 shows that when the interview was conducted by a White the parent was less likely to give a high rating to the importance of promotion opportunities for young people. Likewise, in Table IV.5 we find that when interviewed by Whites the parents were less likely to agree that they enjoyed their leisure activities more than their work. The reasons for these last two divergencies are obscure. It is unlikely that the differences were the product of random sampling error, as similar divergences occurred with the parents of the Later Migrants. Furthermore, as is noted in Chapter 4, where this data is discussed more fully, the difference in response to the question about the relative enjoyability of leisure activities compared to work helps to explain an otherwise puzzling inconsistency between the West Indian parents' answers to this and to other related questions concerned with attitudes to work. If the responses to the West Indian interviewers (as shown in Table IV.5) are taken as a more accurate reflection of the informants' sentiments, we find that they corresponded very closely with the views of the Whites.

Table IV.4 Effect of ethnicity of interviewer on parents' ranking of importance of promotion opportunities for young people

Order of importance given to 'opportunities for promotion'		Parents of Early Migrant leavers interviewed by: Whites		West Indians	
		%		%	
High	1	6		15	
	2	10	34	18	55
	3	18		22	
Medium	4	15		12	
	5	16		10	
	6	20	50	12	32
Low	7	14		10	
No answer		1		2	
Base (all parents who were interviewed)		*215*		*130*	

Table IV.5 Effect of ethnicity of interviewer on parents' opinions about enjoyability of leisure versus work

Parents' response to statement that 'Its natural for people to enjoy what they do in their leisure time more than their work'	Parents of Early Migrant leavers interviewed by: Whites	West Indians
	%	%
True	35	57
Partly true	36	23
Untrue	24	16
Don't know or no answer	5	4
Base (all parents who were interviewed)	*215*	*130*

References

1 Campbell, BA. Race-of-interviewer effects among Southern adolescents. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 45, pp 231–244, 1981.

2 Schuman, H and Converse, JM. *The Effects of black and white interviewers on black responses in 1968*. University of Michigan, 1970. Later published in *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 35, pp 44–68, 1971.

Appendix V Principal documents used for data collection and primary analysis

SS 465

(Schools Return)

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS

(Social Survey Division)

West Indian School Leavers Enquiry

This is the preliminary stage of a long-term enquiry into the employment problems of West Indian school leavers, which we are carrying out on behalf of the Central Youth Employment Executive of the Department of Employment and Productivity.

We realise that the information needed to decide into which of the categories overleaf to place a particular pupil may not always be readily available. When this is so, please act according to the best of your knowledge. It is important that the information you give should be as complete and accurate as possible.

You are being asked for information about pupils whose parents are natives of the British Isles, as well as about those with West Indian parents, because an essential feature of the study will be to compare the subsequent careers of a sample of West Indian leavers with a matched group of native leavers.

Thank you for your co-operation.

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION)

OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION)

To be completed in respect of all fourth, fifth and sixth form classes (or the equivalent class years in your school)
and any other classes which include pupils who will have attained the age of 15 years *or over* by 1st September 1971

Name and Address of School	

	(A) Name of class	(B) Present age-range	(C) PUPILS WHOSE PARENTS ARE WEST INDIAN and who commenced attending school in the *British Isles*—								(D) PUPILS WHOSE PARENTS WERE BORN IN THE BRITISH ISLES				(E) ALL OTHER PUPILS		OFFICE USE ONLY			
			at or before 5 YEARS OF AGE				at 6 YEARS OF AGE OR LATER													
			Total number in class		Number expected to leave school in Spring or Summer 1971 *to start employment*		Total number in class		Number expected to leave school in Spring or Summer 1971 *to start employment*		Total number in class		Number expected to leave school in Spring or Summer 1971 *to start employment*		Total number in class					
			Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	a	b	c	d
(01)																				
(02)																				
(03)																				
(04)																				
(05)																				
(06)																				
(07)																				
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(12)																				
(13)																				
(14)																				
(15)																				
(16)																				
(17)																				
(18)																				
(19)																				
(20)																				

Guidance on how to fill-in columns C, D and E

PUPILS OF MIXED PARENTAGE (e.g. where one parent is a native of the British Isles and the other is an immigrant from the West Indies or Pakistan etc.) and pupils whose parents have migrated from anywhere *other than* the West Indies (e.g. from India, Cyprus, Africa etc.) should be entered in column E.

All pupils whose *parents* are from the West Indies should be entered in column C, irrespective of whether the *pupil* was born in the British Isles or abroad.

GUYANA and BRITISH HONDURAS should be treated as part of the *West Indies*.

Only an *estimate* is required of the number of leavers in columns C and D. It is appreciated that at this stage in the school year it is difficult to be very precise. If you do not expect there to be any leavers from a particular category, write NONE in the appropriate box, please do *not* leave it blank

If you have any queries, please contact—

Mr K Sillitoe,
Office of Population Censuses and Surveys,
(Social Survey Division)
Atlantic House
Holborn Viaduct, London, E C 1

(Telephone 01-583 8931 Ext 312)

Confidential SS 465/S

Office of Popluation Censuses and Surveys (Social Survey Division)

West Indian School Leavers Enquiry

TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SUMMER LEAVERS

PLEASE COMPLETE a form for each pupil in the selected classes (irrespective of his or her race or colour) who is leaving school THIS TERM, for whatever reason, providing -

(A) BOTH PARENTS are natives of (i.e. were born in) ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, WALES or IRELAND - including EIRE.

or (B) BOTH PARENTS were born in THE WEST INDIES (including British Honduras and Guyana); regardless of how long the parent/s have been in Britain and irrespective of where the child was born.

DO NOT COMPLETE a form for a leaver -

(1) If both parents were born in any place outside the British Isles other than the West Indies (e.g. India Pakistan, Cyprus, Africa etc.)

or (2) If one parent only was born in the British Isles and the other was born anywhere outside the British Isles.

or (3) If one parent only was born in the West Indies and the other was born somewhere else outside the British Isles.

We realise the information needed to decide into which of the above categories a pupil should be placed may not always be readily available. When this is so please act according to the best of your knowledge. It is important that the sample should be as complete and accurate as possible.

We are asking for information about pupils whose parents are natives of the British Isles as well as about those with West Indian parents because an essential feature of the study will be to compare the subsequent careers of a sample of West Indian leavers with a matched group of native leavers.

All information given on this form will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Thank you for your cooperation.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY				
				2

Part A

Name of school ____________________

Name of class ____________________

Name of pupil - SURNAME (IN CAPITALS) ____________________

Christian or forenames ____________________

Home address ____________________

____

____

____

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY				

Part B

Has this pupil taken any subjects at a CSE, GCE or RSA examination?

Please ring appropriate numbers below

No 1

Yes 2

If SO, please enter details below -

NB If the SAME subject has been taken at TWO OR MORE examinations, please enter details of each on SEPARATE lines below

	NAME OF SUBJECT (Enter below)	NAME OF EXAMINATION (Ring appropriate number below) GCE 'A'level	CGE 'O'level	CSE	RSA	RESULT/GRADE (Enter below. If result still awaited put an X instead)
(1)		1	2	3	4	
(2)		1	2	3	4	
(3)		1	2	3	4	
(4)		1	2	3	4	
(5)		1	2	3	4	
(6)		1	2	3	4	
(7)		1	2	3	4	
(8)		1	2	3	4	
(9)		1	2	3	4	
(10)		1	2	3	4	
(11)		1	2	3	4	
(12)		1	2	3	4	
(13)		1	2	3	4	
(14)		1	2	3	4	
(15)		1	2	3	4	
(16)		1	2	3	4	
(17)		1	2	3	4	
(18)		1	2	3	4	

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	A	O	CSE	RSA

Part C

Please ring appropriate number below

1. Pupil's date of birth ____ ____ 19__
   (day) (month)

2. Pupil's sex

Boy	1
Girl	2

3. Pupil's place of birth –

England, Scotland or Wales	1
Ireland (Northern Ireland or Eire)	2
West Indies (including British Honduras and Guyana)	3
Anywhere else (WRITE NAME OF COUNTRY BELOW)	4

----

4. PARENTS' place of birth –

British Isles (i.e. including Northern Ireland & Eire)	1
West Indies (including British Honduras and Guyana)	2

PUPILS BORN OUTSIDE OF THE BRITISH ISLES ONLY

5. Age at which pupil started to attend school in THE BRITISH ISLES –

At 5 years of age or earlier	5

If at 6 years of age or later:

PLEASE ENTER IN THE BOX AGE (in complete years) WHEN PUPIL STARTED TO ATTEND SCHOOL IN THE BRITISH ISLES → [ ]

Part D – ALL PUPILS

1. Five scales are given below, each relating to an aspect of behaviour. Please indicate your rating of this pupil by putting a TICK in one of the boxes in each scale. Treat the middle boxes as representing the average for all boys/girls of this age.

(i)	Seems mature for his/her age	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Seems immature for his/her age
(ii)	Outward going and talkative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Introspective and quiet
(iii)	Independent, thinks for him/herself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Dependent on others in forming his/her opinion
(iv)	Excitable and impulsive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Calm and cautious
(v)	Cooperative and obliging toward teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Uncooperative and obstructive toward teachers

2. Of what level of academic achievement do you think this pupil is capable?

(PLEASE RING THE NUMBER OPPOSITE THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF WHICH YOU THINK HE/SHE IS CAPABLE, WHETHER OR NOT HE/SHE ACTUALLY INTENDS TO SIT THE EXAMINATIONS MENTIONED)

Is capable of –

passing GCE 'A' level in one or more subject	6
passing GCE 'O' level (or CSE grade 1) in 4 or more subjects	5
passing GCE 'O' level (or CSE grade 1) in 1-3 subjects	4
passing CSE in 3 subjects, but all at grades 2-5 only	3
passing CSE in 1-2 subjects, but all at grades 2-5 only	2
Would not be capable of passing any of the above	1
Not known	0

3. So far as you know, is this pupil leaving school to seek full-time paid employment

No 1

Yes 2

If NOT, please state below what he/she intends doing.

4. So far as you know, does this pupil have any PHYSICAL DISABILITY which might affect his/her future employment?

No 1

Yes (DESCRIBE BELOW) 2

5. Is there anything else about this pupil which you consider may have an important effect on his/her future career?

No 1

Yes (DESCRIBE BELOW) 2

Please see overleaf

6. In what capacity have you known this pupil?

(RING THE NUMBERS OF ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY)

Through teaching him/her one or more subject 1

As his/her class teacher 2

In some other capacity (DESCRIBE BELOW) 3

\- -

NAME OF TEACHER COMPLETING FORM - Mr/Mrs/Miss ______________________

Date ____________________ 1971

SS 465
MAIN STAGE
(SUMMER LEAVERS)

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

Y O U T H E M P L O Y M E N T S E R V I C E Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Name of child

Serial Number

Date of interview Day Month

Time began

Time finished

Interviewer's name

Authorisation Number

1. According to your records how many personal interviews has this boy/girl had with a member of the Youth Employment Service?

ENTER NUMBER →

If NONE - Ask no further questions

If ONE only

(a) Did you interview him/her yourself?

Yes	1	Go to Q 2 page 2
No	2	Go to Q 2 page 2

If MORE THAN ONE

(b) Did you do the first interview yourself?

Yes	1 - Go to Q 2 page 2	
No	2 - Ask (i)	

If NO

(i) Did you do the (any/either of the) later interview/s?

Yes	1
No	2

D N A (1st interview took place AFTER leaving school) X - Go to Q 3 page 3

3. Did the boy/girl mention any (other) types of work in which he/she was

D N A (1st interview took place AFTER leaving school) — X - Go to Q 3 page 3

2. At the time he/she was (first) interviewed, had he/she already got a job definitely fixed up for when he/she left school?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)-(b)
No	2) Go to Q 3
DK	3) page 3

If YES

(a) What was this job? (RECORD ANSWER BELOW)

Occupation	
Industry	Training Status/Title
	None 0

(b) In your (the interviewing officer's) opinion, was this job suitable?

Yes	1 - Go to Q 3 page 3
No	2 - Ask (c)-(d)
DK	3 - Go to Q 3 page 3
Any other answer (specify)	4 - Ask (d)

(c) Why was it considered unsuitable?

(d) Was the child told the YE/Careers Officer's opinion of the job, or not?

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

3. Did the boy/girl mention any (other) types of work in which he/she was interested; either at the (first) interview or beforehand in writing?

Yes	1 - Ask (a) & (b)
No	2 } Go to Q 4
DK	3 } page 5

If YES

(a) What occupations did he/she mention?

(RECORD ANSWER BELOW AND THEN ASK (b) ABOUT EACH OCCUPATION)

(b) Did you (the interviewing officer) consider ... (occupation) to be a suitable job for him/her?

(RECORD ANSWER BELOW - if "No" ask (c) also)

(c) Why was it thought unsuitable? (RECORD ANSWER BELOW)

Description of job/occupation - 1	OFF USE	If suitable - YES 1 / NO 2 → Ask (c) / Any other answer 3 (specify below)	OFF USE
Reasons job unsuitable/other answer (or any additional comments)			
Description of job/occupation - 2	OFF USE	If suitable - YES 1 / NO 2 → Ask (c) / Any other answer 3 (specify below)	
Reasons job unsuitable/other answer (or any additional comments)			

3. (Continued)

Description of job/occupation - 3	OFF USE	If suitable -	OFF USE
		YES 1 · NO 2 → Ask (c) · Any other answer 3 (specify below) ↓	
Reasons job unsuitable/other answer (or any additional comments)			

Description of job/occupation - 4	OFF USE	If suitable -	
		YES 1 · NO 2 → Ask (c) · Any other answer 3 (specify below) ↓	
Reasons job unsuitable/other answer (or any additional comments)			

Description of job/occupation - 5	OFF USE	If suitable -	
		YES 1 · NO 2 → Ask (c) · Any other answer 3 (specify below) ↓	
Reasons job unsuitable/other answer (or any additional comments)			

4. At the first interview, did you (the interviewing officer) make any recommendations to the boy/girl about his/her employment?

Yes	1	- Ask (a)
No	2	) Go to Q 5
DK	3	) page 6

If YES

(a) What was he/she recommended to do?

5. Were any suggestions made about continuing his/her education?

Yes	1	- Ask (a)
No	2	) Go to Q 6
D K	3	) page 7

If YES

(a) What was suggested?

If child INTERVIEWED MORE THAN ONCE - Ask Q 6	ALL OTHERS go to page 8

6. What happened on the subsequent occasions he/she was interviewed?

(ENTER ANSWER BELOW, RECORDING THE NUMBER OF THE INTERVIEW IN THE LEFT-HAND COLUMN. DRAW A LINE BENEATH THE YEO's ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED AT EACH INTERVIEW. USE A CONTINUATION SHEET WHERE NECESSARY AND ATTACH TO SCHEDULE)

Inter-view Number		OFF USE
2		

If CONTINUATION SHEET USED		
	Yes	X
	No	Y

INTERVIEWER TO COMPLETE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FROM INFORMATION FURNISHED AT Qs 4 AND 6. CHECK WITH YEO WHERE NECESSARY.

7. Enter below a full description of present/last known job.

D N A because -

(i) Child has never had a job	X	Go to Q 9(b)
(ii) Child is thought to have been employed, but there is no record of his/her present or last job	Y	Go to Q 9(b)

Occupation	Industry
Name of employer	Training status/title (apprenticeships, etc)
	None 0

8. Total number of jobs child HAS HAD to date.

(according to YE Office records)

ENTER NUMBER → [ ]
D K X

9(a) Is current/last known job one for which he/she was SUBMITTED BY THE YE OFFICE?

Yes	1
No	2

9(b) Total number of jobs for which child has been SUBMITTED BY THE YE OFFICE?

ENTER NUMBER → [ ]
D K X

10. Number of occasions visited YE Office to enquire about jobs, when NOTHING COULD BE OFFERED which the child was prepared to accept.

ENTER NUMBER → [ ]
D K X

F O R O F F I C E U S E O N L Y (i) (ii)

Introduce . . . .

I should like now to ask you a few things about your general impressions of this child.

If the child is W E S T I N D I A N, ask Q 11
OTHERS go to Q 12

11. Does he/she have a West Indian accent?

Yes	1	- Ask (a)
No	2	Go to Q 12
DK	3	Go to Q 12

If YES

(a) Would you say that the accent is sufficiently strong to make it difficult sometimes for a non-West Indian to understand what he/she says?

Yes	1	- Go to Q 14 page 10
No	2	Go to Q 12
Other answer (specify)	3	Go to Q 12

12. How clearly does he/she speak? Would you say his/her diction is -

(RUNNING PROMPT)

above average	1
average	2
or below average?	3
UNPROMPTED - DK	4

13. How well is he/she able to express his/her thoughts in spoken English? Would you say that his/her fluency is -

(RUNNING PROMPT)

above average	1
average	2
or below average for a child of this age?	3
UNPROMPTED - DK	4

14. How well is he/she able to grasp what is said to him/her? Would you say his/her ability to comprehend oral questions and instructions is -

(RUNNING PROMPT)	above average	1
	average	2
	or below average?	3
	UNPROMPTED - DK	4

15. From his/her school reports and from the impression he/she gave at the interview/s would you say that his/her general intelligence is -

(RUNNING PROMPT)	above average	1
	average	2
	or below average for a child of this age?	3
	UNPROMPTED - DK	4

16. Is there anything else about this child's personality or general behaviour which you think might be relevant to his/her employment?

Yes (specify)	1
No	2
DK	3

17. Is there anything about his/her general health or physique which might affect the sort of work he/she would be able to do?

Yes (specify)	1
No	2
D K	3

ASK ONLY IF YEO HAS ARRANGED INTERVIEW/S WITH OR RECOMMENDED CHILD TO APPLY TO PARTICULAR EMPLOYER/S

DNA (Has never been submitted to an employer - i.e. NOUGHT entered at Q 9(b), page 8)	X

18. Were there any special factors which influenced your (the interviewing officer's) choice of the firm/s the child should apply to for employment?

Yes (specify)	1
No	2
D K	3

SS 465

MAIN STAGE

(SUMMER LEAVERS)

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

S C H O O L L E A V E R S Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Serial Number | | | | | | | | | |

	Day	Month
Date of interview		

Time began		
" finished		

Interviewer's name ______________________________

Authorisation Number | | | |

FULL DETAILS OF ALL

NON-CONTACTS

REFUSALS

or INELIGIBLES

to be recorded on separate sheet provided

If interview also achieved with parent -

Yes	1
No	2

Other persons in the room during part or all of the interview (disregarding people just passing thru)

No-one	1
Father	2
Mother	3
Older brothers or sisters	4
Younger brothers or sisters	5
Anyone else (specify)	6

If THERE WAS

Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?

No	1
Yes (explain)	2

If address was found to be correct and complete

Yes	1
No	2

If NOT

Give full correct address below -

If address was difficult to find

Yes	1
No	2

If YES

Give instructions on how to locate, below -

1. On what date did you leave secondary school?

Day	Month	Year

Still at school — X - END INTERVIEW

2. What are you doing now? Do you have a full-time paid job; have you gone on to full-time further education, or what?

Has a full-time paid job	1 - Ask (a)
Has gone on to full-time Further Education	2 - END INTERVIEW
NEITHER OF THE ABOVE	3 - Ask (b)

If NOW HAS A FULL-TIME PAID JOB

(a) What job do you have now?

If DOES NOT HAVE A FULL-TIME PAID JOB AT PRESENT

(b) What was your last full-time paid job?

RECORD ANSWER BELOW

Has never had a full-time paid job — X - Go to Q 4 page 3

Occupation	
Industry	
Name of Employer	Training Status/Title (apprentice etc) None — 0

3. How many different employers have you worked for full-time since leaving school; including your present (last) employer?

ENTER NUMBER → [ ] Go now to Q.13 page 6

If HAS NEVER HAD A FULL-TIME PAID JOB

4. **Have you ever tried to get a job?**

Yes — 1 - Ask (b)
No — 2 - Ask (a)

If NO

(a) Why is that? (Record answer below; THEN END INTERVIEW)

If YES

(b) How much time since leaving school have you spent .....

RUNNING PROMPT

(Record answers in boxes – to nearest week)

looking or applying for jobs →	☐	weeks
on holiday →	☐	weeks
or on other things? (describe below) →	☐	weeks

5. **Have you gone to the Youth Employment/Careers Office to tell them you are looking for work?**

Yes — 1 - Go to Q.6 page 4
No — 2 - Ask (a)

If NO

(a) Why haven't you gone to see them?

If HAS LOOKED FOR WORK BUT NOT YET HAD A FULL-TIME PAID JOB

6. How many jobs have you applied for altogether? ENTER NUMBER → ☐

7. When you were still at school and before you had started applying for a job, what sort of work had you hoped to get?

(IF MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATION MENTIONED, ASK FOR THE ONE MOST PREFERRED - TRY TO GET INFMT. TO BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE)

DK/Had not made up mind — X - Go to Q 12 page 5

Description of occupation/work

8. Did anyone suggest or encourage you to take up . . (description of occupation above)?

Yes — 1 - Ask (a)
No — 2 - Ask (b)

If YES

(a) Who was that? (CODE ALL BELOW)

Father	1	YE/Careers Officer	4	Details of other persons
Mother	2	Teacher/s	5	
Other relatives	3	Friend/s	6	
		Other person/s (specify)	7	

If NO

(b) Where did you get the ideas from to be/do ... (description of occupation above)?

If HAS LOOKED FOR WORK BUT NOT YET HAD A FULL-TIME JOB

9. Have you ever applied for a job of this sort?

Yes	1 Ask (a)	
No	2 Ask (b)	

If If YES

(a) How many times? → [ ] Go to Q.10

If NO

(b) Why is that?

Has changed mind/ no longer wants this job	1 - Go to Q.12	
Not old enough yet	2	Go to Q.11
Other answer (specify)	3	

10. Why do you think you have been unable to get a job as ....(description of occupation at Q.7)?

0

DNA (has now fixed-up to start job shortly)	X - Go to Q 20 page 10	
Not old enough	1	Go to Q 11
Lacks educat. qualif.	2	
Other answer (specify)	3	

11. Are you still hoping to be/do .....(description of occupation at Q.7) eventually, or have you now changed your mind about it?

Has changed mind	1 - Go to Q.12	
Still hopes to get job	2	Go to Q.20 page 10
Other answer (specify)	3	

12. What do you intend to do now?

GO NOW TO Q.20 Page 10

If HAS HAD AT LEAST ONE FULL-TIME PAID JOB

13. Did you fix up your present (**first full-time** paid) job before you left school or afterwards?

Before leaving school	1 - Go to page 7
Afterwards	2 - Go to Q 14

If FIRST JOB FIXED UP AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

14. How long after leaving school did you start your present (first full-time) job?

TO THE NEAREST WEEK → [ ] **If 2 WEEKS OR LESS - Go to page 7**

If 3 WEEKS OR MORE, ask ...

(a) How much of this time did you spend .....

looking or applying for job	[ ] weeks
on holiday	[ ] weeks
or on other things? (describe below)	[ ] weeks

RUNNING PROMPT

(Record answers in boxes - to nearest week)

If ONE WEEK OR LESS looking/applying for jobs - Go to page 7

If 2 WEEKS OR MORE - ask (b)

If 2 WEEKS OR MORE LOOKING/APPLYING FOR JOBS, ask ...

(b) During the ..... weeks you spent looking/applying for jobs, did you go to the Youth Employment/Careers Office to tell them you were looking for work?

Yes	1 - Go to page 7
No	2 - Ask (i)

If NO

(i) Why didn't you go to see them?

If has had ONE FULL-TIME PAID JOB only
(i) and is still IN EMPLOYMENT - Go to Q.20, page 10
(ii) but is now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.15, below

If has had 2 OR MORE FULL-TIME PAID JOBS
(i) and is still IN EMPLOYMENT - Go to Q.18, page 9
(ii) but is now UNEMPLOYED - Go to Q.16, page 8

15. **How long is it since you left your last job?** → Weeks ☐ Days ☐

If LESS THAN A WEEK - Go to Q.20 page 10

If A WEEK OR MORE

(a) Have you been to the Youth Employment/Careers Office to tell them you are unemployed?

Yes	1 - Go to Q.20 page 10
No	2 - Ask (i)

If NO

(i) Why haven't you gone to see them?

GO NOW TO Q.20 PAGE 10

If HAS HAD 2 OR MORE FULL-TIME JOBS, BUT IS NOW UNEMPLOYED

16. How long is it since you left your last job? → Weeks ☐ Days ☐

If LESS THAN A WEEK - Go to Q.18 page 9

If A WEEK OR MORE

(a) Since you first began full-time employment, have you been unemployed for a week or more, on any other occasion ?

Yes	1 - Ask i & ii
No	2 - Go to Q.17 below

If YES

(i) How many times has this happened, including the present time? → ☐

(ii) What has been the longest time? → TO THE NEAREST WEEK ☐ weeks

If unemployed for a week or more at least once

17. Have you gone to the Youth Employment/Careers Office (on each occasion) to tell them you are (were) unemployed?

YES/Always	1 - Go to Q.20 page 10
Sometimes	2 } Ask (a)
NO/Never	3 } Ask (a)

If NO/Never or only Sometimes

(a) Why haven't/didn't you go to see them (always)?

Go now to Q 20 page 10

Go now to Q 20
page 10

If HAS HAD 2 OR MORE FULL-TIME JOBS and IS NOW EMPLOYED
or " " " " " " " " " " LEFT LAST JOB LESS THAN A WEEK AGO

18. Since you first began full-time employment, have you ever been unemployed for a week or more?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - Go to Q20 page 10

If YES

(a) How many times? → [ ]

If ONCE ONLY

(i) How long were you unemployed on that occasion? TO THE NEAREST WEEK → [ ] weeks

If MORE THAN ONCE

(ii) What was the longest time? TO THE NEAREST WEEK → [ ] weeks

If unemployed a week or more at least once

19. Did you go to the Youth Employment/Careers Office (each time) to tell them you were unemployed?

YES/Always	1 - Go to Q20 page 10
Sometimes	2 } Ask (a)
NO/Never	3 } Ask (a)

If NO/Never or only Sometimes

(a) Why didn't you (always) go to see them?

A L L

20. The next few questions are about various ways of getting jobs.

First of all, thinking back to the time when you were still at school; did you have an interview with the Youth Employment/Careers Officer before you left? A personal interview, that is - without other pupils present?

Yes	1
No	2

21. I am now going to read out a list of other ways by which young people may try to get a job. I would like you to tell me whether or not you have ever done each of these things.

Have you ever tried to find a job . . . . . ?

(PROMPT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS IN TURN)

If YES to any item, ask, ...

(a) Did you do this just once, or more than once?

	NEVER	ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE
By looking at job-advertisements in newspapers or magazines?	1	2	3
By looking at job-advertisements outside factories, shops, offices or other work-places	1	2	3
By looking at job-advertisements outside the Youth Employment/Careers Office	1	2	3
By looking at job-advertisements outside a private employment agency	1	2	3
By writing or telephoning to an employer to ask if he has any vacancies	1	2	3
By going personally to see an employer to ask if he has any vacancies	1	2	3
By enquiring at the Youth Employment/Careers Office	1	2	3
By enquiring at a private employment agency or bureau	1	2	3

ALL

22. Have you ever asked anyone else to help you get a particular job?

(RECORD BELOW) ←	Yes	1
	No	2

Father	1	Teacher/s	4	Details of other person/s
Mother	2	Friend/s	5	
Other relatives	3	Other person/s (specify)	6	

If HAS HAD AT LEAST ONE FULL-TIME JOB

DNA (Has never had a full-time job) — X - Go to Q31 page 15

23. How did you, in fact, find your present/last job?

By answering an advert. in a newspaper/magazine	1
With the help of - The Youth Employment Service	2
" " " " - A private employment agency	3
By any other means (describe)	4

If HAS HAD 2 OR MORE FULL-TIME JOBS

DNA (Has had only one full-time job) — X - Go to Q 25 page 12

24. How did you find your first job?

By answering an advert. in a newspaper/magazine	1
With the help of - The Youth Employment Service	2
" " " " - A private employment agency	3
By any other means (describe)	4

If HAS HAD AT LEAST ONE FULL-TIME JOB

25. Thinking back to the time when you were still at school and before you had started applying for a job. Is the job you have now/had last, the sort of work you had hoped to get?

Yes	1 - Ask (a) & (b)
Only partly	2 } Go to Q 26 page 13
No	3 }
No, but has arranged to start desired job shortly	4 }
DK what wanted to do/ had not made up mind between alternatives	5 - Go to Q 31 page 15

If PRESENT OCCUPATION IS THE SORT OF WORK INFORMANT HAD HOPED TO GET

(a) Did anyone suggest or encourage you to take up .. .. (description of present/last occupation)?

Yes	1 - Ask (i)
No	2 - Ask (ii)

If YES

(i) Who was that?

CODE ALL BELOW, THEN ASK (b)

Father	1	YE/Careers Officer	4	Details of other person/s
Mother	2	Teacher/s	5	
Other relative/s	3	Friend/s	6	
		Other person/s (specify)	7	

If NO

(ii) Where did you get the idea from to be .... (description of present/last occupation)?

(b) How many times did you apply for a job of this sort before you succeeded in getting it? → ☐ Go to Q 31 page 15

If PRESENT/LAST OCCUPATION IS NOT OR IS ONLY PARTLY THE SORT OF WORK INFORMANT HAD HOPED TO GET

26. What did you really want to do when you left school?
(IF MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATION MENTIONED, ASK FOR THE ONE MOST PREFERRED - TRY TO GET INFMT. TO BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE)

DK/Had not made up mind between alternatives — X - Go to Q 31 page 15

Description of occupation/work

(a) Did anyone suggest or encourage you to take up .... (description of occupation above)?

Yes — 1 - Ask (i)
No — 2 - Ask (ii)

If YES
(i) Who was that?
(CODE ALL BELOW, THEN SEE INSTNS AT FOOT OF PAGE)

Father	1	YE/Careers Officer	4	Details of other person/s
Mother	2	Teacher/s	5	
Other relative/s	3	Friend/s	6	
		Other person/s (specify)	7	

If NO
(ii) Where did you get the idea from to be/do ... (description of occupation above)? (RECORD ANSWER, THEN SEE INSTNS BELOW)

OFF USE

If informant has now arranged TO START DESIRED JOB SHORTLY (i.e. code 4 at Q 25 - ASK (b) BELOW

ALL OTHERS
Go to Q 27 PAGE 14

(b) How many times did you apply for a job of this sort, before you succeeded in getting it? → Go now to Q 31 page 15

27. Have you ever applied for a job of this sort?

Yes — 1 - Ask (a)
No — 2 - Ask (b)

If YES
(a) How many times? → Go to Q 28

If NO
(b) Why is that?

No longer wants this job — 1 - Go to Q 30
Not old enough yet — 2) Go to Q 29
Lacks educat qualifs. — 3)
Other answer (specify) — 4)

28. Why do you think you have been unable to get a job as ....(description of occupation at Q 26)?

Has already had this job — 1 - Ask (a)
Has now arranged to start this sort of job shortly — 2 - Go to Q 31 page 15
Not old enough yet — 3) Go to Q 29
Lacks educational qualifs — 4)
Other answer (specify) — 5)

If HAS ALREADY HAD THIS SORT OF JOB
(a) What made you give it up? (RECORD ANSWER, THEN GO TO Q 30)

29. Are you still hoping to be/do .... (description of occupation at Q 26) eventually, or have you now changed your mind about it?

Has changed mind — 1 - Go to Q 30
Still hopes to get job — 2) Go to Q31 page 15
Other answer (specify) — 3)

30. What do you intend to do now?

Stay in present occupation — 1
Any other answer (try to get infmt. to be as specific as possible) — 2

A L L

31(a) Have your parents, the Youth Employment/Careers Officer or your teachers ever euggested <u>any other</u> type of work (apart from the job/e you have already mentioned) which <u>they</u> thought would be suitable for you?

Yes	1
No	2 - Go to Q 32 page 16

(<u>If YES</u>, RECORD JOB & PERSON SUGGESTING IT BELOW)
<u>Then ask</u> . . . . .

(b) Did <u>anyone else</u> suggest or encourage you to do this type of work?

(RECORD BELOW - ONLY IF ONE OF THE 3 LISTED)
<u>Then ask</u> . . . . .

(c) Have you ever applied for a job of this sort?

<u>If HAS APPLIED FOR JOB</u> (RECORD BELOW AND ASK (d)

(d) Why do you think you didn't get this job?

<u>If HAS NEVER APPLIED FOR JOB</u> (RECORD BELOW AND ASK (e)

(e) Why have you not tried for this job?

RECORD ANSWER BELOW, THEN REPEAT Qs (a) to (e) AS NECESSARY

Description of occupation	Person/e suggesting PARENT YEO TEACHER	If applied for job YES NO	Reasons did not get job / has not tried for job	OFF USE
	1 2 3	4 5		
	1 2 3	4 5		
	1 2 3	4 5		
	1 2 3	4 5		

A L L

32. Would you think now of all the people who have advised you about jobs. Which one of them, would you say, had given you the most useful advice?

(DO NOT PROMPT)

Parent	1	Teacher	4	<u>Description of other person</u>
Other relative	2	Other person (specify)	5	
YE/Careers Officer	3	NO-ONE	6	

Code <u>one</u> only - the person whose advice was the <u>most</u> useful

If YEO <u>NOT</u> CODED ABOVE - Ask (a)

If YEO IS CODED ABOVE - Go to Q 33 page 17

(a) Would you eay that the advice given you by the Youth Employment/Careers Officer has been helpful or not very helpful?

Helpful	1 - Go to Q 33 page 17
Helpful in some ways, but not in others	2 } Ask (b)
Not very helpful	3 } Ask (b)
Has never seen YEO	4 - Go to Q 33 page 17

(b) In what ways could he have been of more help?

0

ALL WHO ARE NOW IN EMPLOYMENT

DNA (Does not have a job at present) — X - Go to Q 35 page 18

33. I should like now to ask you a few things about your present job. First, would you say that in general you are ....

(RUNNING PROMPT)

very satisfied	1	Go to Q 34
fairly satisfied	2	Ask (a)
or definitely not satisfied with it?	3	Ask (a)

If DEFINITELY DISSATISFIED or only FAIRLY SATISFIED

(a) In what ways are you not (completely) satisfied with it?

34. (INTRODUCTION OF SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE)

SAY ....

I should like you now to complete a small questionnaire for me. It's to do with what things are like in your present job.

HAND OPENED QUESTIONNAIRE TO INFORMANT and say .....

First, read Sentence Number 1......... If you think this is true about your present job, put a tick in the first box on the right. If only partly true, or true in some ways only, tick the middle box. If it is not true, tick the last box. It says at the top what each box is for.

Please try to answer all the questions. If you have any difficulty, tell me and I will explain.

(WHILST INFORMANT IS COMPLETING QUESTIONNAIRE, CHECK DISCREETLY THAT HE/SHE IS DOING IT CORRECTLY.

WHEN IT IS FINISHED, CHECK THAT ALL ITEMS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. IF NOT, SHOW THEM TO INFORMANT AND ASK IF HE/SHE COULD TRY ANSWERING THEM).

ALSO- If infmt is WEST INDIAN, whilst he or she is completing the questionnaire, go to page 25, check into which category the infmt falls and ring the appropriate code in the right-hand panel.

A L L

35. I am now going to show you a set of cards about the things you would want to be happy in a job. First, will you read what is on each card.

(HAND OUT CARDS or SPREAD THEM OUT IN FRONT OF INFORMANT)

Then say ......

Now tell/pass me the card which has written on it what you would want most of all to be happy in a job.

(WRITE "1" IN BOX OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED)

Then say ......

And the next?

(WRITE "2" IN BOX)

(CONTINUE UNTIL ALL SEVEN ITEMS HAVE BEEN RANKED)

	RANK
(a) Friendly people to work with	
(b) Work that you can be proud of	
(c) Learning a trade or getting a good training	
(d) A good chance of being promoted	
(e) A steady job	
(f) Work that is interesting	
(g) Good pay	

A L L

36. Here is another set of cards. As before, will you first read what is written on each card.

(HAND OUT CARDS or SPREAD THEM OUT IN FRONT OF INFMT.)

Then say ....

Now will you tell/ pass me the card which has written on it what is most important to you now ,....... (WRITE "1" IN BOX)

And the next? .... (WRITE "2" IN BOX)

(CONTINUE UNTIL ALL SEVEN ITEMS HAVE BEEN RANKED)

	RANK
(a) Enjoying yourself outside working hours	
(b) Getting on well in your job or career	
(c) Having a happy home life	
(d) Having good friends to go around with	
(e) Having freedom to spend your time the way you want to	
(f) Being treated as an adult	
(g) Being good at sports and games	

37. Looking to the future; what sort of work do you hope to be doing in say 5 years time?

Same as now	1	See Q 38 page 20
Does not expect to be working full-time in 5 years	2	See Q 38 page 20
DK	3	See Q 38 page 20

Description of occupation

ALL WHO HAVE HAD AT LEAST ONE FULL-TIME JOB

DNA (Has never has a full-time job) X Go to Q40 page 21

38. Naturally, when talking about jobs, the pay one gets is also important. Would you tell me how much you earned when you first began to work, after leaving school?
I mean how much did you actually get after deduction of tax and national insurance, but including overtime and bonuses (or tips), if you had any ?

Weekly pay		or	Monthly pay	
Pounds	New Pence		Pounds	New Pence

(If cannot remember exactly, or if it varied, ask for an approximation/ average. If the very first week/month was exceptional for any reason - i.e. because of not paying tax or because of not having any overtime etc., ask for what he/she was earning after infmt. had been there a little while and things had settled down).

39. And how much are you earning now? / were you earning when you left your last job?

How much did you get (in the) last week/month? Again, after the deduction of tax and national insurance, but including any overtime and bonuses (or tips)?

Weekly pay		or	Monthly pay	
Pounds	New Pence		Pounds	New Pence

A L L

40. Since leaving school have you started any course of further education? That is, a full-time, sandwich, block release, day release, evening, correspondence or other similar course?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No/ Not yet	2 - Go to Q.41 page 22

If YES, ask .....

(a) What type of course?

Then (in respect of each course mentioned) ask ....

(i) Are you still doing the course?

(ii) What qualifications or examinations are you studying (did you study) for?

) RECORD ANSWERS BELOW

(DISREGARD COURSFS RUN BY FIRMS FOR THEIR OWN EMPLOYEES ONLY)

Type of course		Qualifications aimed at (describe in full - if none, give subjects studied)	OFF USE
Evening	1		
Day release	2		
Correspondence	3		
Sandwich/Block Release	4		
Full-time	5		
Any other (describe below)	6		
		If still attending course Yes	1
		No	2

Type of course		Qualifications aimed at (describe in full - if none, give subjects studied)	
Evening	1		
Day release	2		
Correspondence	3		
Sandwich/Block Release	4		
Full-time	5		
Any other (describe below)	6		
		If still attending course Yes	1
		No	2

A L L

41. Since leaving school have you taken an examination of any kind?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - Go to Q 42 page 23

If YES

(a) What type of exam?

Then (in respect of each type mentioned) ask . .

(i) What subject did you take?

(ii) What were your results?

) RECORD ANSWERS BELOW

Type of exam		Subjects taken	OFF USE	RESULT Enter 'Pass', 'Fail', Grade or 'awaiting result'	OFF USE
GCE 'A' level	1				
GCE 'O' level	2	(1)			
CSE	3	(2)			
RSA	4	(3)			
Other (specify below)	5	(4)			
		(5)			
		(6)			
		(7)			

Type of exam 2		Subjects taken	OFF USE	RESULT Enter 'Pass', 'Fail', Grade or 'awaiting result'	OFF USE
GCE 'A' level	1				
GCE 'O' level	2	(1)			
CSE	3	(2)			
RSA	4	(3)			
Other (specify below)	5	(4)			
		(5)			
		(6)			
		(7)			

Type of exam 3		Subjects taken	OFF USE	RESULT Enter 'Pass', 'Fail', Grade or 'awaiting result'	OFF USE
GCE 'A' level	1				
GCE 'O' level	2	(1)			
CSE	3	(2)			
RSA	4	(3)			
Other (specify below)	5	(4)			
		(5)			
		(6)			
		(7)			

<u>IF INFORMANT WAS BORN</u>
<u>OUTSIDE THE BRITISH ISLES</u> (i.e. UK + Eire)

46. When did you first come to live in Britain? → Month [ ] Year [ ]

DX — X - Ask (a)

<u>If DOESN'T KNOW YEAR OF ARRIVAL</u>

(a) Do you know how old you were when you first came to live in Britain? → [ ] years

DX — X

A L L

47. [Since you first came here in 19....../at the age of ..]

Have you ever left Britain to live abroad for <u>three months or more</u>?

Yes	1 - Ask (a)
No	2 - See directions at foot of page

<u>If YES</u>

(a) How many times have you been away for three months or more? ENTER NUMBER → [ ]

(i) <u>If MORE THAN ONCE</u>, ask What was the longest time you have been away?

(ii) <u>If ONCE ONLY</u>

) PROBE FOR APPRCX. DATES OF ABSENCE (OUTSIDE THE BRITISH ISLES), WHERE WENT AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE. RECORD ANSWERS BELOW

Approx. dates of absence abroad					Where went	Purpose
Month	Year	to	Month	Year		
				CFF USE		

If informant is of W E S T I N D I A N PARENTAGE - Go to Q 48, page 25

ALL OTHERS - Go now to Q 51 on last page.

A L L <u>Introduce</u>

42. How old were you at your last birthday? → [ ] years

43. What was your date of birth? → Day [ ] Month [ ] Year [ ]

44. <u>Where</u> were you born?

England	1
Scotland	2
Wales	3
Northern Ireland	4
Eire	5
<u>The West Indies</u> (including British Honduras & Guyana)	6
SPECIFY WHICH ISLAND/COUNTRY	
Anywhere else (specify below)	7
....	

45. In what country were your <u>parents</u> born?

	Father	Mother
England	1	1
Scotland	2	2
Wales	3	3
Northern Ireland	4	4
Eire	5	5
Somewhere in the <u>British Isles</u> - but not certain where	6	6
Anywhere in the <u>West Indies</u> (including British Honduras & Guyana)	7	7
Anywhere else (specify below)	8	8

(Father ....)

(Mother ....)

ONLY IF INFORMANT IS OF W E S T I N D I A N PARENTAGE

Introduce . . . . .

Finally, I should like to ask you one or two things about the special problems that West Indian school leavers may meet when looking for employment. It is said they sometimes have difficulty getting the right type of job because some employers do not want to employ West Indians.

ONLY if coded 5 at Q 28, page 14 or coded 3 at Q 10, page 5	
(i) but did not mention race/colour prejudice at Qs 10/28	1 - Ask Q48(a)
(ii) and HAVE mentioned " " "	2 - Ask Q48(b)
ALL OTHERS (i.e. all who have not answered Q28 or Q10 AND those coded 1,2,3 or 4 at Q28, or X,1 or 2 at Q10	X - Go to Q 49 page 26

48\. (a) Would you tell me whether or not you think

(b) I believe you mentioned earlier that

this is one of the reasons you have been unable to get a job as . . . (See Qs 7/26)?

Yes	1	Ask (c)
Possibly/maybe/thinks so, but not entirely sure	2	Ask (c)
No	3	Go to Q 49 page 26
DK	4	Go to Q 49 page 26

(c) Can you give me an example of when you think this (may have) happened? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

GO NOW TO Q 50 PAGE 27

ONLY IF INFORMANT IS OF W E S T I N D I A N PARENTAGE

49\. Have you ever been turned down for a job because you think the employer was prejudiced against West Indiane?

0

Yes	1	Ask (a)
Possibly/maybe/thinks so, but not entirely sure	2	Ask (a)
No	3	Ask (b)
DK	4	Go to Q 51 page 28

If YES

(a) Can you give me an example of when you think this (may have) happened? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

GO NOW TO Q 50 PAGE 27

If NO

(b) From what your friende have told you about their experiencee, do you thnk you have been especially lucky, or, do you think that only a very few West Indians meet thie problem when they leave school?

0

Thinks he/she hae been eep. lucky/many meet this problem	1
Thinks very few WIs meet this problem	2
DK	3
Other answer (Specify)	4

GO NOW TO Q 51 PAGE 28

ONLY IF THINKS HE/SHE HAS (MAY HAVE) BEEN TURNED DOWN FOR A JOB BECAUSE OF RACE PREJUDICE (i.e. if coded 1 or 2 at Qs 48 or 49)

50. Judging from your own experiences, do you think the Youth Employment/Careers Officers do enough to help, if West Indians have difficulty finding suitable jobs because of race prejudice amongst employers?

0

No	1	- Ask (a)
Yes	2	Go to Q 51 page 28
DK	3	
Other answer (specify)	4	

If NO

(a) In what ways do you think they could be of more help?

A L L

51. Finally, is there anything else you would like to say about your present or future employment?

No	1
Yes (record below)	2

52. Thank you very much for helping us with this enquiry. As I explained at the beginning, our purpose is to find out how young people get on in employment when they leave school. This is to see if something can be done to help those who meet with difficulties.

We should very much like to see you again, say in about a year's time, to find out how you are getting on.

May we come to see you again then?

Yes	1	- Ask Q53
No	2	- End Interview

53. Are you likely to change your address in the near future?

Yes	1 - ISSUE RE-ADDRESS CARD and ask informant to complete and post to us when he/she moves. Explain that no stamp is needed. REMEMBER before issuing card, TO INSERT SERIAL NUMBER.
No	2

SS 465

MAIN STAGE

(SUMMER LEAVERS)

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

S C H O O L - L E A V E R ' S
S E L F - C O M P L E T I O N   Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Serial Number | | | | | | | | | |

Interviewer's Name ______________________________

Authorisation Number | | | |

THE PEOPLE WHO MOSTLY TELL ME WHAT TO DO AND ARE IN CHARGE AT WORK -

Answer by putting a tick (✓) in one of the boxes below

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE OR TRUE IN SOME WAYS	NOT TRUE
Are strict			
Treat me fairly			
Praise me when I do something well			
Watch very closely what I do			
Are willing to listen to my ideas and opinions			
Nag at me about things			
Usually do what they promise			
Often speak to me in a rude or unfriendly way			
Expect too much from a beginner			
Are always willing to give me help or advice			
Act like teachers in school			

WHAT I THINK ABOUT MY PRESENT JOB

Answer by putting a tick (✓) in one of the boxes below

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE OR TRUE IN SOME WAYS	NOT TRUE
All the people I work with are very friendly			
The work is quite difficult in my job			
The pay is very good			
I am proud of the sort of work I do			
I feel that I'm getting a really good training			
My job is very safe and secure			
The work I do is very interesting			
Beginners at my job should be given more training			
The firm I work for really looks after the people it employs			
I'm not told enough about *why* things are done the way they are at work			
At work I don't get enough chance to decide things for myself			
Having this job now will help me to get a better one later on in life			
You don't really need any training to do my job			
I wish I had more chance to work on my own without other people interfering			
I wish I had more chance to travel about in my job			

SS 465

MAIN STAGE

(B'ham Year II)

Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

P A R E N T ' S   Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Name of child

Serial Number

Date of interview — Day — Month

Time began

Time finished

Name of interviewer ______________________

Authorisation Number

FULL DETAILS OF ALL

NON-CONTACTS

REFUSALS

or INELIGIBLES

to be recorded on separate sheet provided

Relationship of infmt. to sample boy/girl -

Father	1
Mother	2
Mother substitute	3
Father substitute	4

State relationship (eg step-father/mother, etc.)-

<u>If Mother/Mother substitute</u> is selected for interview, explain why father/father substitute was not selected -

Other persons in the room during part or all of the interview (disregarding people just passing thru)

No-one	1
Informant's Spouse	2
Sample boy/girl	3
Sample boy/girl's -	
Elder bro/s & sister/s	4
Younger " " "	5
Anyone else (specify)	6

<u>IF THERE WAS</u>

Do you think their presence affected the interview in any way?

No	1
Yes (explain)	2

PARENT interviewed first	1 - Start at Q 1
Leaver interviewed previously and found -	
(i) to be now IN FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT	2 - Start at Q 3 page 4
(ii) to have had a full-time paid job but is NOW UNEMPLOYED	3) Start at Q 2 page 3
(iii) to have looked for work but never had a full-time paid job	4)

1. What is (SON/DAUGHTER) doing now? Does he/she have a full-time paid job; has he/she gone on to full-time further education, or what?

Now has a full-time paid job	1 - Go to Q 3 page 4
Has gone on to full-time Further Education	2 - END INTERVIEW
NEITHER OF THE ABOVE	3 - Ask (a)

If NEITHER IN EMPLOYMENT NOR FULL-TIME FE

(a) Has he/she had a full-time paid job since leaving school?

Yes	1 - Go to Q 2 page 3
No	2 - Ask (b)

If HAS NEVER HAD A JOB

(b) Has he/she looked for a job?

Yes	1 - Go to Q 2 page 3
No	2 - Ask (c)

If HAS NEVER LOOKED FOR A JOB

(c) Why is that?

(RECORD ANSWER BELOW AND THEN END INTERVIEW)

If SON/DAUGHTER IS AT PRESENT UNEMPLOYED

2. Can I ask you how you feel about the way (SON/DAUGHTER) has been getting on since leaving school? Would you say that in general you are . . . .

	very satisfied	1 - Go to Q5 page 6
(RUNNING PROMPT)	fairly satisfied	2) Ask (a)
	definitely not satisfied about it ?	3)

If DEFINITELY DISSATISFIED or only FAIRLY SATISFIED

(a) In what ways are you not (completely) satisfied with how he/she has been getting on?

GO NOW TO Q.5 PAGE 6

If SON/DAUGHTER IS NOW IN FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT

3. Can I ask you how you feel about the job (SON/DAUGHTER) is doing now? Would you say that in general you are . . . . .

(RUNNING PROMPT)

very satisfied	1	Go to Q 4 page 5
fairly satisfied	2	Ask (a)
or definitely not satisfied about it?	3	Ask (a)

If DEFINITELY DISSATISFIED or only FAIRLY SATISFIED

(a) In what ways are you not (completely) satisfied with it?

If SON/DAUGHTER IS NOW IN FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT

4. Do you and (SON/DAUGHTER) talk very much about his/her work? Would you say that you and he/she discuss it . . . . .

(RUNNING PROMPT)

often	1	Ask (a)
just occasionally	2	Ask (a)
or hardly ever?	3	Ask (a)
DO NOT PROMPT - Never talks about it	4	Go to Q 5 page 6

If CODED 1 to 3 ABOVE

(a) When was the last time you and he/she discussed it together?

Today or yesterday	1
2 to 7 days ago	2
More than 7 days ago	3
Can't remember	4

A L L

Introduce . . .

Before young people leave school to start work they are usually interviewed by a person called a Youth Employment or Careers Officer, from the local Youth Employment Office. I do not mean a teacher.

5. Before (SON/DAUGHTER) left school, did he/she have an interview with the local Youth Employment/Careers Officer? A personal interview that is, without other pupils present?

Yes	1	Ask (a) & (b)
No	2	Go to Q6 page 7
DK	3	Go to Q6 page 7

If YES

(a) Did (SON/DAUGHTER) have one or more than one personal interview with him before leaving school?

One only	1	Ask (b)
More than one	2	Ask (b)
DK	3	Ask (b)

(b) Did you or your wife/husband go to the interview (either/any of the interviews) as well?

Yes	1	Ask (i)
No	2	Go to Q6 page 7

If THEY DID

(i) Which of you went?

At least one interview attended by - (CODE ALL THAT APPLY)

Informant only	1	Ask (ii)
Both parents	2	Ask (ii)
Spouse only	3	Go to Q6 page 7

If AT LEAST ONE INTERVIEW ATTENDED BY INFORMANT ONLY OR BY BOTH PARENTS

DNA (Infmt did not personally attend any interviews)	X	Go to Q6 page 7

(ii) What did the Youth Employment/Careers Officer advise your son/daughter to do?

A L L

6. Have you seen the Youth Employment/Careers Officer (again) about (SON/DAUGHTER) since he/she left school?

Yes	1	Ask (a)
No	2	Go to Q 7

If YES

(a) What advice did he give to you then?

DNA (Neither child nor parent has seen YEO)	X	Go to Q 8 page 8

7. Would you say the advice that the Youth Employment/Careers Officer has given about (SON'S/DAUGHTER'S) employment has been helpful or not very helpful?

Helpful	1	Go to Q 8 page 8
Helpful in some ways but not in others	2	Ask (a)
Not very helpful	3	Ask (a)
DK	4	Go to Q 8 page 8

If CODED 2 or 3 ABOVE

(a) In what ways could he have been more helpful?

A L L

8. Thinking now of <u>all</u> the people (including yourself) who have advised (SON/DAUGHTER) about his/her employment. Which person would you say has had the greatest influence over his/her choice of work?

(RECORD BELOW)

Parent/s	1	Other person (specify)	5	Description of other person
Other relative	2	No-one has had any influence	6	
YE/Careers Officer	3	DK	7	
Teacher	4			

(Code one only - the person who has had the greatest influence

9. Would you say, on the whole, it is better that young people make up their own minds about the sort of work they do, or, that they should rely on the advice of other people who have had more experience?

0

Should make up their own minds	1
Should rely on advice	2
Should ask for/listen to advice, but make up their own minds about what to do	3
Any other answer (specify)	4

A L L

10. As you know: when young people leave school there are various jobs they can get, in which they are given some form of training. These include apprenticeships and other training schemes, many of which also involve part-time attendance at courses of further education. People have different opinions about whether jobs of this kind are really worthwhile or not. Here are some things people have said about it. Please tell me whether you fully agree, partly agree or disagree with each of them . . .

HAND PROMPT CARD TO INFORMANT. THEN READ OUT EACH ITEM IN TURN

adding after each one . . . . Do you fully agree, partly agree or disagree?

If SON	If DAUGHTER	FULLY AGREE	PARTLY AGREE	DISAGREE	D.K.
Apprenticeships are a way for employers to get cheap labour	It's not worthwhile a girl going through a course of training, as she is very likely to get married and give up her job	1	2	3	4
If a boy does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job while he's still young, he will regret it when he's older	If a girl does not make sure of getting a thorough training for some job while she is still young, she will regret it when she is older	1	2	3	4
A boy should stay on at at school to get a better education, rather than leave at 15 or 16 to take an apprenticeship	It's not as important for a girl as it is for a boy, to take a job where she will get a good training	1	2	3	4
It's better for a boy to take a job where he will be well trained, even if he does not earn very much to begin with	It's better for a girl to take a job where she will be well trained, even if she does not earn very much to begin with	1	2	3	4

FATHERS/FATHER SUBSTITUTES ONLY

11. I am now going to show you a set of cards about the things that some parents have said is important if a young person is to be happy in a job.

(HAND OUT CARDS or SPREAD THEM OUT IN FRONT OF INFORMANT)

Then say . . . . .

Now tell/pass me the card which has written on it what you think is most important for a young person to be happy in a job.

(WRITE "1" IN BOX OPPOSITE ITEM SELECTED)

Then say . . . . .

And the next?

(WRITE "2" IN BOX)

(CONTINUE UNTIL ALL SEVEN ITEMS HAVE BEEN RANKED)

	RANK
(a) Friendly people to work with	
(b) Work that you can be proud of	
(c) Learning a trade or getting a good training	
(d) A good chance of being promoted	
(e) A steady job	
(f) Work that is interesting	
(g) Good pay	

F A T H E R S/F A T H E R S U B S T I T U T E S O N L Y

12. I should like now, if I may, to ask you a few things about your own employment.

Do you have a full-time paid job at present?

	Yes	1
If NOT probe to find if-	Unemployed	2
(full-time self-employed to be coded 1)	Retired	3
	or Other (specify)	4

13. What . . is your present job? / was your last full-time job?

Occupation

Industry

W E S T I N D I A N FATHERS/FATHER SUBSTITUTES O N L Y

14. What was your last job before coming to Britain?

Occuption

Industry

GO NOW TO Q 17 PAGE 13

MOTHERS/MOTHER SUBSTITUTES ONLY

15. Could I now ask if you yourself have a full-time or part-time paid job at present?

(USE STANDARD DEFINITION OF PART-TIME WORK)

(full or part-time self-employed to be coded 1 or 2)

Has full-time job	1	– Ask (a)
" part-time job	2	See Q 16
No, housewife only	3	See Q 16

If HAS FULL-TIME JOB

(a) What is your present job?

Occupation

Industry

WEST INDIAN MOTHERS/MOTHER SUBSTITUTES ONLY

16. Did you have a job before coming to Britain?

Yes	1	– Ask (a)
No	2	See Q 17 page 13
Other answer (specify)	3	See Q 17 page 13

If YES

(a) What was the last job you had before coming here?

Occupation

Industry

ALL PERSONS (MEN AND WOMEN) WHO ARE NOW IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT

17. How do you feel about your present work? Would you say that in general you are . . . .

(RUNNING PROMPT)

very satisfied	1	– Go to Q 18 page14
fairly satisfied	2	Ask (a)
or definitely not satisfied with it?	3	Ask (a)

If DEFINITELY DISSATISFIED or only FAIRLY SATISFIED

(a) In what ways are you not (completely) satisfied with it?

A L L M E N

and ALL WOMEN WHO ARE NOW IN FULL-TIME PAID EMPLOYMENT

18. I am now about to read out some things people have said about work and jobs in general. I would like you to tell me whether you think these things are true, partly true or untrue?

HAND PROMPT CARD TO INFORMANT. THEN READ OUT EACH ITEM IN TURN,

adding after each one . . . . True, partly true or untrue?

	TRUE	PARTLY TRUE	UNTRUE	D.K.
Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else	1	2	3	4
One of the most important things in life is to have a job you really like doing	1	2	3	4
Getting a good job depends on knowing the right people, more than on how well qualified or skilled you are	1	2	3	4
Getting promotion depends on whether the people in charge happen to like you, more than on whether you are good at your work	1	2	3	4
It's natural for people to enjoy what they do in their leisure time more than their work	1	2	3	4
When all is said and done the most important thing about any job is the pay	1	2	3	4

ONLY IF INFORMANT IS W E S T I N D I A N

ALL OTHERS - Go to Q 21 page 17

I should like now to ask you one or two things about the special problems that West Indian school leavers may meet when looking for suitable employment. It is said that they sometimes have difficulty getting the right type of job because some firms do not want to employ West Indians.

19. Has (SON/DAUGHTER) ever been turned down for a job because you think the employer was prejudiced against West Indians?

0

Yes	1)	Ask (a)
Possibly/maybe/thinks so, but not entirely sure	2)	Ask (a)
No	3	- Ask (b)
D K	4	- Go to Q21 Page 17

If YES or POSSIBLY etc.

(a) Can you give me an example of when you think this (may have) happened? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

GO NOW TO Q 20 PAGE 16

If NO

(b) Do you think (SON/DAUGHTER) has been especially lucky, or, do you think that only a very few West Indian boys/girls meet this problem when they leave school?

0

Thinks son/daughter has been esp lucky/many meet this problem	1
Thinks very few meet this problem	2
D K	3
Other answer (specify)	4

GO NOW TO Q 21 PAGE 17

ONLY IF THINKS SON/DAUGHTER HAS (MAY HAVE) BEEN TURNED DOWN FOR A JOB BECAUSE OF RACE PREJUDICE (i.e. if coded 1 or 2 at Q 19)

20. Judging from your son's/daughter's experiences, do you think the Youth Employment/Careers Officers do enough to help, if young West Indians have difficulty finding suitable jobs because of race prejudice amongst employers?

0

No	1	- Ask (a)
Yes	2	Go to Q 21 page 17
DK	3	Go to Q 21 page 17
Other answer (specify)	4	Go to Q 21 page 17

If NO

(a) In what ways do you think they could be of more help?

CLASSIFICATION . . . . . Introduce

21. Household Composition

IF THERE IS NO PARENT (OR SUBSTITUTE) OF THE SEX INDICATED IN THE HOUSEHOLD, RING CODE FOR "NONE" ON THE APPROPRIATE LINE

NOTE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP IS TO THE SAMPLE BOY/GIRL, NOT TO THE INFORMANT

Person No. Ring HOH	Relationship to boy/girl - ALWAYS COMPLETE LINES 2 and 3	OFF. USE	Sex		Age last Birthday	Marital Status			Working/Education Status			
			M	F		M	S	W/D/S	Full-time working	Part-time working	Full-time education	None of these
1	Boy/Girl		X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
2	Mother/If NONE →	X	X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
3	Father/If NONE →	Y	X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
4			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
5			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
6			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
7			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
8			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
9			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
10			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
11			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
12			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8

22. Other brothers and sisters of boy/girl RESIDENT IN BRITAIN but not now members of this household (including step-brothers and sisters, and adoptees)

	DNA - None →	0										
13			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
14			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
15			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
16			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
17			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
18			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
19			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
20			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8
21			X	Y		1	2	3	5	6	7	8

23. Occupation and industry of informant's SPOUSE and sample boy/girl's BROTHERS AND SISTERS (<u>including</u> those not now in household), who are IN <u>FULL-TIME</u> PAID EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENT IN BRITAIN (i.e. Code 5 at Q21/22)

(USE PERSONS NUMBERS AS AT QUESTIONS 21/22)

Person Number	Occupation	Industry	OFF USE

24. <u>Type of dwelling</u>

Whole house : detached	1
" " semi-detached	2
" " terraced	3
Flat/Maisonette (self-contained) ...	4
Rooms (not self-contained)	5
Other (specify) . . .	6

25. <u>Ownership of dwelling</u>

Owned(or being bought) by member of hsehold.	1
Rented	2
Rent free	3

26. At what age did you (your wife/husband) finish full-time education?

	(a) FATHER	(b) MOTHER
At - 14 years or under	1	1
15 "	2	2
16 "	3	3
17 "	4	4
18 " or over	5	5
D.K.	6	6
Has never attended school	7	7
DNA (no spouse in household)	8	8

27. Have you (Has your wife/husband) passed any examinations or obtained any education qualifications or apprenticeships?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY	(a) FATHER	(b) MOTHER
No qualifications obtained	1	1
University Degree or Diploma, full Medical/ Dental/Veterinary qualifications or Diploma in Technology	2	2
Full Membership of a professional institution or full professional qualification (includes barrister, solicitor, architect) SPECIFY	3	3
Teachers Certificate/Certificate of Education	4	4
Nursing qualification (SRN, SCM etc.)	5	5
Higher National Diploma (HND) or Certificate (HNC)	6	6
GCE "A" Levels, Highsr School Certificate, Inter-Arts or Science, Higher Scottish Certificate of Education/Scottish Leaving Certificate (Higher), Attestation of Fitness (Scotland)	7	7
GCE "O" Levels, School Certificate, Matriculation, Scottish Certificate of Education (Ordinary)/Scottish Leaving Certificate (Lower)	8	8
Ordinary National Diploma (OND) or Certificate (ONC), City and Guilds (any level/type)	9	9
RSA, Commercial or Trade Certificates, Forces Educational Certificates	10	10
Full apprenticeship completed	11	11
Any other qualifications - including intermediate or not fully completed qualifications (specify)	12	12
D.K. if obtained any qualifications..........	13	13
D N A (no spouse in household)	14	14

28. NET INCOME (after tax, national insurance and other compulsory deductions, but including overtims, bonuses, family allowances, pensions and any privats means)

SHOW CARD and ask informant for ths income group number for each person

Last week	Per annum	(a) FATHER	(b) MOTHER
Up to £5	(up to £260)	1	1
Over £5 to £10	(over £260 to £520)	2	2
Over £10 to £15	(ovsr £520 to £780)	3	3
Over £15 to £20	(over £780 to £1040)	4	4
Over £20 to £25	(over £1040 to £1300)	5	5
Over £25 to £30	(over £1300 to £1560)	6	6
Over £30 to £35	(over £1560 to £1820)	7	7
Over £35 to £40	(over £1820 to £2080)	8	8
Over £40	(over £2080)	9	9
No income		10	10
D K		11	11
Refusal		12	12
DNA (no spouse in household)...........		13	13

29. Thank you very much for helping us with this enquiry. Now, before we finish, is there anything else you would like to say about your son's/daughter's present or future employment?

No	1
Yes (specify)	2

S 465

YOUNG PEOPLE'S EMPLOYMENT STUDY

SUPPLEMENTARY CODING SCHEDULE No.1

[RELATING TO YEO INTERVIEW AND FIRST INTERVIEW WITH LEAVER]

Serial No. | | | | | | | | | |

Name of Leaver

NOTES

(i) If YEO Schedule is not available, refer to Qns 21-32 in the LEAVER'S Schedule to ascertain if any of the missing information (about YEO's opinion of leaver's present/last job or the job he had hoped to get,etc) can be filled in from the information furnished by the leaver. If not, then ring code for "NO RECORD (of interview with YEO)", at the appropriate questions.

(ii) To be SINGLE-CODED THROUGHOUT and PRIORITY CODE where appropriate.

1. See TOP OFF USE BOX at Part B of TEACHER'S Schedule

CLASSIFY leaver on HEGINBOTHAM Scale and insert → ☐ Go to Q2

2. See Qn 2 in LEAVER'S Schedule

CLASSIFY present/last job in leaver's schedule on :-

DNA (Had not obtained job by time of our 1st interview with leaver) 1 Go to Q7

(a) HEGINBOTHAM Scale → ☐
(b) GOLDTHORPE-HOPE Scale → ☐
(c) GOLDTHORPE-HOPE RANK ORDER ☐

Go to Q3

NOTE: If unable to classify because of insufficient information enter 0's in the appropriate box/es above

3. See Qn 25 in LEAVER'S Schedule

If present/last job was in the occupation leaver told us that he/she had hoped to enter when leaving school:-

YES	1	- Go to Q4
ONLY PARTLY	2	Go to Q7
NO	3	Go to Q7
NO, but has arranged to start desired job shortly	4	- Go to Q9
DK what he/she had wanted to do/had not made up mind between alternatives/ NA	5	- Go to Q14

4. Examine Qns 2, 7, or 26 in LEAVER'S Schedule and Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

YEO's opinion of suitability of present/last job :-

FULLY SUITABLE	1	Go to Q5
SUITABLE WHEN OLD ENOUGH	2	Go to Q5
UNSUITABLE because :-		
a) lacked educational quals/ability . .	3	Go to Q5
b) other reasons	4	Go to Q5
QUALIFIED ANSWERS Suitable providing / Not suitable unless :-		
a) obtained additional educational qualifications/ has ability . . .	5	Go to Q5
b) other provisos	6	Go to Q5
D K because :-		
a) difficulty over definition of job .	7	Go to Q5
b) job type not mentioned in YEO Sch .	8	Go to Q5
c) job mentioned but no record whether considered suitable by the YEO	9	Go to Q5
d) no record of interview/no record if any jobs discussed with the YEO	10	Go to Q5
e) YEO not seen	11	- Go to Q20

NOTE ON DEFINITION OF "SUITABILITY" AT QN 4 ABOVE:

If the YEO submitted leaver to an employer for this type of work, code as YEO considered it to be suitable, unless YEO has actually mentioned that he thought it was not.

5. See Qn 23 in LEAVER'S schedule [if NA - check to ascertain if the information is obtainable from the YEO schedule]

If present/last job was obtained through the YEO

YES	1	- Go to Q20
NO	2	- Go to Q6

6. See Qns 2-7 in YEO schedule

If YEO had submitted leaver for a vacancy in the occupation which the leaver told us he/she had hoped to get when leaving school (ie present/last occupation).

DNA (Had already arranged to start this job when he/she saw the YEO)	1	- Go to Q20
YES	1	- Go to Q20
NO	2	- Go to Q18
DK because:-		
a) record of interview with YEO not avail	3	- Go to Q20
b) difficulty over definition of job	4	Go to Q18
c) unclear if submitted	5	Go to Q18

NOTE: In Qn 8, code 1 cannot be coded in conjunction with code 6 in Qn 7.

7. Examine Qns 9-12/27-30 in LEAVER'S Schedule

REASON LEAVER GAVE FOR NOT HAVING OBTAINED A JOB IN THE OCCUPATION LEAVER TOLD US HE/SHE HAD HOPED TO ENTER WHEN LEAVING SCHOOL

DNA (Had arranged to start desired job shortly)	1	- Go to Q9
DK what he/she had wanted to do / had not made up mind between alternatives / N A	2	- Go to Q14
HAD BEEN UNABLE TO GET JOB BECAUSE (leaver believed) :-		
a) lacked the necessary educational quals	1	- Go to Q8
b) was not yet old enough	2	- Go to Q8
c) was unsuitable for other reasons . . .	3	- Go to Q8
Nothing to suggest was under-age, underqualified or unsuitable in any other way but ALL APPLICATIONS HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL	4	- Go to Q8
NEVER SEEN OR HEARD OF A SUITABLE VACANCY (or did not like the vacancies that were available)	5	- Go to Q8
NO LONGER WANTED IT (nes) - therefore never tried for it (or no longer interested after applied & found out more about it)	6	- Go to Q8
HAD ALREADY OBTAINED a job of the desired sort, but left it	7	- Go to Q9
OTHER REASONS (S P E C I F Y)	8	- Go to Q8

8. Examine Qns 9-12/27-30 in LEAVER'S Schedule & Qns 2-6 in YEO Schedule

WHAT LEAVER INTENDS TO DO NOW :-

STILL HOPES to get job had wanted when left school . . .	1	- Go to Q9
STAY IN PRESENT OCCUPATION	2	- Go to Q9
Aim for ANOTHER JOB :-		
a) in which HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST TO YEO .	3	- Go to Q9
b) NOT PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED TO YEO.	4	- Go to Q9
c) which we DK IF MENTIONED TO THE YEO . . (because unclear/no record of interview)	5	- Go to Q9

9. Classify occupation leaver had hoped to enter when leaving school, on HEGINBOTHAM SCALE → ☐ Go to Q10

10. Examine Qns 2, 7, or 26 in LEAVER'S Schedule & Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

a) YEO'S OPINION OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE OCCUPATION WHICH THE LEAVER HAD TOLD US HE/SHE HOPED TO ENTER WHEN LEAVING SCHOOL :-

FULLY SUITABLE	1	- Go to Q11
SUITABLE WHEN OLD ENOUGH	2	- Go to (b)
UNSUITABLE because :-		
a) lacked educational quals/ability	3	- Go to Q11
b) other reasons	4	- Go to Q11
QUALIFIED ANSWERS Suitable providing / Not suitable unless :-		
a) obtained additional educational qualifications/ has ability	5	- Go to Q11
b) other provisos	6	- Go to Q11
D K because :-		
a) YEO not seen	7	- Go to Q20
b) record of int with YEO not available .	8	- Go to Q13
c) no record if any jobs discussed with YEO	9	- Go to Q11
d) job type not mentioned in YEO Schedule	10	- Go to Q11
e) job mentioned but no record of whether it was considered suitable by the YEO	11	- Go to Q11
f) difficulty over definition of job . . .	12	- Go to Q11

NOTE: Submitted = suitable [unless YEO said otherwise - see note to Q4]

b) Check if leaver was still UNDER-AGE when finally left school

YES	1	- Go to Q11
NO	2	- Go to Q11

11. See Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

If YEO had submitted leaver for a vacancy in the occupation which the leaver told us he/she had hoped to enter :-

YES	1	- Go to Q12
NO	2	Go to Q14
DK because :-		
a) difficulty over definition of job	3	Go to Q14
b) unclear if submitted	4	Go to Q14

12. Examine Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

YEO's opinion of suitability of PRESENT/LAST JOB :-

DNA (Had not yet had a job)	1	- Go to Q20
FULLY SUITABLE	1	Go to Q13
SUITABLE WHEN OLD ENOUGH	2	Go to Q13
UNSUITABLE because:-		
a) lacked educational quals/ability	3	Go to Q13
b) other reasons	4	Go to Q13
QUALIFIED ANSWERS Suitable providing / Not suitable unless :-		
a) obtained necessary educational qualifications/ has ability	5	Go to Q13
b) other provisos	6	Go to Q13
D K because:-		
a) difficulty over definition of job	7	Go to Q13
b) job type not mentioned in YEO Sch	8	Go to Q13
c) job mentioned but no record/unclear if considered suitable by the YEO	9	Go to Q13
d) no record if any jobs discussed	10	Go to Q13

NOTE: Submitted = suitable [unless YEO said otherwise - see note to Q4]

13. See Qn 23 in LEAVER'S Schedule [if NA - check to ascertain if the information is obtainable from the YEO Schedule]

If present/last job was obtained through the YEO :-

YES	1	Go to Q20
NO	2	Go to Q20

14. See Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

YEO's opinion of suitability of PRESENT/LAST JOB :-

DNA (Had not yet had a job)	1	- Go to Q18
FULLY SUITABLE	1	Go to Q15
SUITABLE WHEN OLD ENOUGH	2	Go to Q15
UNSUITABLE because :-		
a) lacked educational quals/ability	3	Go to Q16
b) other reasons	4	Go to Q16
QUALIFIED ANSWERS Suitable providing / Not suitable unless :-		
a) obtained additional educational qualifications/ has the ability	5	Go to Q16
b) other provisos	6	Go to Q16
D K because :-		
a) YEO not seen	7	- Go to Q20
b) record of interview with YEO not available or no record if any jobs discussed with YEO	8	- Go to Q17
c) difficulty over definition of job	9	- Go to Q15
d) job type not mentioned in YEO Schedule . .	10	- Go to Q17
e) job mentioned but no record/unclear if considered suitable by the YEO	11	- Go to Q16

NOTE: Submitted = suitable [unless YEO said otherwise - see note to Q4]

15. Examine Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

If present/last job is in an occupation in which leaver had expressed an interest to YEO :- YES 1 - Go to Q16

NO 2 - Go to Q17

DK because:- a) difficulty over definition of job 3 - Go to Q17

b) unclear if interested . . . . . . 4 - Go to Q17

16. Examine Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule [if NA - check to ascertain if the information is obtainable from the YEO Schedule]

If present/last job was obtained through the YEO :-

YES 1 - Go to Q20

NO 2 - Go to Q18

17. See Qn 23 in LEAVER'S Schedule [if NA - check to ascertain if the information is obtainable from the YEO Schedule]

If present/last job was obtained through the YEO :-

YES 1 - Go to Q19

NO 2 - Go to Q18

18. See Qn 9(b) in YEO Schedule

If YEO had submitted leaver for any jobs :-

DNA (Not submitted for anything, because had already arranged to start a job when saw YEO) 1 - Go to Q20

YES 1 - Go to Q19

NO 2 - Go to Q20

DK because :-

a) YEO not seen . . . . 3 - Go to Q20

b) record of interview with YEO not available 4 - Go to Q20

c) unclear if submitted for a job 5 - Go to Q20

19. Examine Qns 2-7 in YEO Schedule

If leaver was ever submitted for a vacancy in any occupation in which he/she had expressed an interest to the YEO:-

DNA (Leaver had not expressed an interest in any particular occupation - other than one for which still under-age when left school, or which had already arranged to start) 1 - Go to Q20

YES 1 - Go to Q20

NO 2 - Go to Q20

DK because :-

a) record of interview with YEO not available or no record if any job/s discussed 3 - Go to Q20

b) difficulty over definition of job . . . . 4 - Go to Q20

c) unclear if interested (in job/s for which submitted by the YEO) . . . . 5 - Go to Q20

d) unclear if submitted (for job/s in which expressed an interest to the YEO) . . . . 6 - Go to Q20

20. See Qn 37 in LEAVER'S Schedule

DNA (no definite ambition about job in 5 yrs)	1	Go to Q24

If AMBITION IN 5 YEARS is in an occupation :-

a) SAME AS HOPED TO ENTER WHEN LEAVING SCHOOL

DNA (DK what wanted to do/ not made up mind between alternatives/NA)	1	- Go to (b)
YES	2	- Go to Q23
NO	3	Go to (b)
UNCERTAIN (because of difficulty over defin.)	4	Go to (b)

b) SAME AS PRESENT/LAST JOB

DNA (Had not yet had a job)	1	- Go to (c)
YES	2	- Go to Q23
NO	3	Go to (c)
UNCERTAIN (because of difficulty over defin.)	4	Go to (c)

c) IN WHICH HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST TO YEO

DNA (No record of jobs in which interested)	1	- Go to Q23
YES	2	- Go to Q21
NO	3	Go to Q23
UNCERTAIN (because of difficulty over defin.)	4	Go to Q23

21. CONSISTENCY CHECK I

Is there any evidence in YEO Schedule to suggest that job leaver hopes to have in 5 years time was originally the most preferred (out of those which were discussed) or if it was the leaver's ultimate ambition from the beginning :-

YES (including if it was the only job leaver expressed any interest in)	1	Go to Q22
NO	2	Go to Q22
Uncertain	3	Go to Q22

22. CONSISTENCY CHECK II

Is there any evidence in the YEO Schedule to suggest that the leaver was UNABLE TO ENTER / DISSUADED FROM ENTERING / NOT ENCOURAGED TO ENTER the job he/she hopes to have in 5 years time, because :-

NOT YET OLD ENOUGH (providing still under-age when finally left school)	1	Go to Q23
LACKED EDUCATIONAL QUALS/ABILITY	2	Go to Q23
OTHER REASONS (specify)	3	Go to Q23
Reasons UNCLEAR	4	Go to Q23
NO APPARENT REASON why the leaver should not have entered (when leaving school) the job he/she hopes to have in 5 years	5	Go to Q23
UNCERTAIN	6	Go to Q23

23. CLASSIFY job leaver hopes to have in 5 years time on HEGINBOTHAM SCALE → ☐ Go to Q24

24. CONTINUITY CHECK

Is there a 4th Interview Schedule :- YES	1	
NO	2	

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